

CURRENT NEWS **EARLY BIRD**

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New York Times

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Pg. 1

India Sets Off 2 More Nuclear Blasts *U.S. And Japan Impose Sanctions*

By John F. Burns

NEW DELHI, India -- Less than 12 hours after President Clinton appealed for a halt to all nuclear testing by India, the country's government on Wednesday carried out two underground tests to add to the three blasts it conducted on Monday.

In the defiant spirit it showed with the earlier explosions, the government of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee approved the new tests knowing that the United States, Japan and other nations were preparing to impose economic sanctions for the first series of explosions.

At a news conference in Berlin less than two hours after the new blasts were announced, Clinton announced wide-ranging American sanctions, including an end to most American aid to India and a pledge to use the U.S. vote to deny India loans and other help from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

In other reaction, Japan announced that it had frozen new grants to India and would consider cutting some of its much bigger loan programs. Similar measures halting, reducing or deferring aid were announced by a number of other nations, including Germany, Denmark and Sweden.

Appearing before Hindu nationalist supporters who showered him with rose petals in the garden of his New Delhi residence, Vajpayee said the economic punishment being exacted by the United States and other nations was part of the price India had to pay for assuring its own defense. He spoke shortly before Clinton announced the sanctions, but after news reports from Washington that Clinton had taken the decision to impose the measures during his overnight flight to Germany.

"We have come to understand that we will be denied aid, credit and other assistance, and that we will face problems," Vajpayee said. "But in

the event of such steps, the country will have to face them squarely. If the path ahead is a difficult one, we will not shy away from it."

The new tests were carried out close to the site of the original blasts, near the village of Khetlai in the Thar desert of Rajasthan state, at 12:21 p.m. New Delhi time (2:21 a.m. ET), less than 48 hours after the first tests.

A statement by India's Ministry of Science and Technology described the latest explosions as having been in the "sub-kiloton range," indicating that they had only a fraction of the combined force of the blasts on Monday. The earlier explosions were measured by an Indian seismic institute at 55 kilotons, more than 50 times as powerful as the American atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

The government statement said the new blasts completed "the planned series of tests" that Indian nuclear experts have said were aimed at devel-

oping nuclear warheads for a variety of Indian weapons systems developed in recent years. Among these is a ballistic missile with a range of about 1,500 miles, known as the Agni. The missile is thought to have been the intended delivery vehicle for the largest of the devices tested on Monday, identified in government statements as a "thermonuclear" or hydrogen bomb.

The latest blasts were accompanied by the same olive branch that the Vajpayee government held out after Monday's blasts -- an offer to "consider adhering to some of the undertakings" in the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty concluded in 1994, which has been signed by 149 nations, but not by India or its archrival, Pakistan.

The Vajpayee government has not said what parts of the treaty it might accept, but it has repeatedly said that it would not give up nuclear weapons unless the five established nuclear powers -- the United States, Russia, Britain, China and France -- agree to the eventual elimination of their own arsenals. This is a condition that all the five powers have repeatedly rejected.

The steps announced by Clinton appeared likely to hit

Pakistan Appears Prepared To Test Its Own Bomb

New York Times...See Pg. 2

Bill requiring U.S. missile defense stalls

Washington Times...See Pg. 3

After voting against BRAC in committee . . .

Warner To Propose Amendment To Review Base Closure Process

Inside The Pentagon...See Pg. 4



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hard at an Indian economy that has just begun to accelerate under market-driven reforms. In addition to the aid restrictions and the vow to block India's access to funds controlled by the IMF and the World Bank, these included a ban on American banks making loans to Indian state institutions and tight restrictions on the sale to India of computers and other equipment with possible military uses.

Indian officials vowed not to be pushed off course by the sanctions, but Indian financial markets appeared less confident.

After steep falls on Tuesday in the wake of the first round of tests, the country's three most important stock exchanges registered further sharp declines on Wednesday, with a drop of more than 4 percent in the key Sensex index in Bombay, most of it in the first 30 minutes after the latest round of blasts was announced.

Stock exchanges in New Delhi and Madras each registered a fall of about 3 percent, and the Indian rupee came under heavy selling pressure in the currency markets.

Indian financial analysts said the economic effects appeared to have been more severe than expected by the government, which said on Monday that it had weighed the possible impact on the economy when it approved the tests. Indian commentators said the country's Hindu nationalist leaders also appeared to have been jolted by the almost universal condemnation of the tests by other nations, which have placed India in an isolation unknown in the country's 50 years as an independent nation.

Indian economists have disagreed on the impact that aid cutbacks will have on the economy, but most have agreed that the most severe penalty would be a cutoff of loans by

the World Bank, which has lent more than \$44 billion to India. The bank had also planned to lend another \$3 billion this year for a wide variety of projects, from programs aimed at fighting AIDS to projects for building bridges, dams, highways and power plants. Official statistics put the size of India's economy, measured in terms of the value of all goods and services, at about \$270 billion a year.

Some Indian economists have said that all foreign aid amounts to less than 1 percent of this total, and is thus insignificant in the overall economy; others have said that the real risk lies in a collapse of investor confidence that could tip the economy into a downward spiral.

In any case, Vajpayee vowed to ride out the sanctions when he appeared before a jubilant crowd that gathered at his official residence in a show of support for the tests.

The display by his supporters, who garlanded him with a huge bouquet and waved banners, was symptomatic of the nationalist euphoria that has swept the country in the wake of the nuclear tests. Similar demonstrations have been reported all over India, including one in Bombay at which youthful Hindu nationalists pierced their fingers and signed their names in blood on a charter approving the tests.

An opinion poll published in Wednesday's editions of The Times of India said 91 percent of more than 1,000 adults questioned in six of the country's largest cities, including Bombay, Calcutta and New Delhi, had approved the first series of tests. The poll showed that 82 percent favored the deployment of nuclear weapons, a step the Vajpayee government has said it would take "as soon as the situation requires."

Perhaps most startling,

while 52 percent of those polled said they did not think India would fight a nuclear war with Pakistan in the next 10 years, 32 percent said they thought a nuclear conflict was possible.

Sounding more wistful than triumphant, Vajpayee said the tests were not simply a matter of muscle-flexing by the Hindu nationalists, who ended 50 years as India's political pariahs when they emerged from a general election two months ago with the largest parliamentary bloc, then formed a 14-party coalition government.

"This was not a political gimmick," he said. "For us, the country's security was paramount. These tests were above

politics. Approving them was our right, and our duty."

The Indian leader said he hoped that the United States and other nations that have condemned the tests would rethink their positions and realize that the nuclear treaties that India has been urged to sign, including the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons, were discriminatory since they did nothing to force established nuclear powers to give up their own arsenals.

"Our hope is that those nations that want to continue their nuclear monopoly will accept that the same rules should apply to all," he said.

New York Times May 14, 1998 Pg. 1

Pakistan Appears Prepared To Test Its Own Bomb

By Tim Weiner

WASHINGTON -- Pakistan is preparing for an underground nuclear test that could take place as early as Sunday, American officials said on Wednesday, citing clear signs from spy satellites, foreign agents and Pakistan's political leaders.

Diplomatic, military and intelligence officials said Pakistan could test a nuclear warhead sometime next week at a desert site in response to five tests that its regional rival, India, has conducted since Monday. It would be Pakistan's first test of a nuclear device and would add one more country to the list of nations with an open nuclear ability.

Despite the certain and severe economic and political consequences for Pakistan, and the effect such a test is bound to have on the already soaring tensions in the region, "no one

expects them to not have a test," an administration official said.

President Clinton hastily sent a high-level diplomatic team to Pakistan on Wednesday after a discouraging telephone conversation on Wednesday morning with Pakistan's prime minister, Nawaz Sharif. The president said he asked the prime minister "to resist the temptation to respond to an irresponsible act."

But "Sharif was not able to give that reassurance," said Karl Inderfurth, the assistant secretary of state for South Asian affairs. "He told the president that he was under tremendous pressure to respond."

At that point, Inderfurth said, Clinton offered to send his envoys to Islamabad, the Pakistani capital. The president then assembled a delegation led by Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott and Gen. Anthony Zinni of the Marines, who commands U.S. forces in the Middle East and southwestern Asia. The group left Washington on Wednesday

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night for Islamabad.

The delegation intends to paint a grim picture of the consequences of a test, especially the severe economic penalties for Pakistan, administration officials said, and use political persuasion, diplomatic tact and economic pressure to stop any test.

Pakistan would suffer the same financial sanctions as India did on Wednesday -- a prohibition on private American bank loans, as well as the threat of the loss of World Bank and International Monetary Fund assistance. The World Bank has \$4.4 billion worth of programs under way in Pakistan, and the IMF has offered Pakistan a new \$1.56 billion, three-year loan program, only about \$208 million of which has been disbursed. The money not already in the pipeline would be barred.

India also lost American

military and economic aid, which totaled \$145 million this year. The United States already ended all military and economic aid to Pakistan in 1990, after it declared Pakistan capable of making nuclear weapons.

Pakistan has been capable of conducting a nuclear test since the early 1990s, American officials said. It has produced enough fissile material to build about a dozen warheads. The warheads, apparently based on a Chinese design, could be mounted on missiles.

According to American officials, the test would be conducted in the Chagai Hills, a remote site in the Baluchistan desert, near Pakistan's western border with Iran. One of the warheads would be lowered down a deep shaft, attached to cables and sensors, and exploded.

Pakistan's political leaders have made it plain that they

intend to respond to India in kind. India's tests "will not go unanswered," Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan told the nation's senate on Wednesday.

In addition to these kinds of public pronouncements, American spy satellites have detected military equipment and technical personnel making preparations for a test at the Chagai Hills site, the officials said.

Foreign intelligence agents in Pakistan have also reported that the test could be conducted immediately, for maximum political effect, or later next week, for a greater yield of technological data, officials said. The CIA has ties to Pakistani military and intelligence officers dating back to their joint operations to arm Afghan guerrillas fighting the Soviet army in the 1980s.

Few American officials

were confident that the delegation sent by Clinton on Wednesday night could stop the test without offering something concrete in return.

The best hope, they said, was for the United States to convince the other seven large industrialized nations who will attend an economic summit this week in Birmingham, England, to place economic penalties on India so severe that they would deter Pakistan from a test.

"We need to bring to bear all of the political will, not only of this country but certainly of all of our allies, to come down very hard on India and to discourage Pakistan from following suit," said Defense Secretary William Cohen.

But the American delegation intends to offer no economic or military incentives to bargain with Pakistan, officials said -- only warnings of the dangers of a test.

Washington Times

May 14, 1998

Pg. 1

Bill requiring U.S. missile defense stalls

By Bill Gertz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A bipartisan bill that would mandate deployment of a nationwide missile-defense system failed by one vote to advance in the Senate yesterday, but supporters vowed to win passage of the measure later this year.

Senate Republicans argued that U.S. intelligence agencies' failure to detect preparations for India's nuclear tests this week shows that gauging the threat of long-range missiles is uncertain at best.

"This administration is taking a wait-and-see attitude -- wait and see if there's a threat," said Sen. Thad Cochran, the Mississippi Republican who is a sponsor of the bill. "The fact is, the threat exists now."

The bill calls for deploying a defense system against incoming long-range missiles as soon as technologically possible. The Clinton administration instead favors its program of developing a system but not deploying it until at least

2000.

Senators voted 59-41 to end debate on the missile-defense bill, also sponsored by Sen. Daniel Inouye, Hawaii Democrat. But the measure was tabled because Senate rules require 60 votes to move forward.

"I think it was a victory that we got 59 votes for a change in policy," Mr. Cochran said in an interview. "I think it's time we change our policy on national missile defense to develop a system and deploy it."

Mr. Cochran said he believes the Democrats will "regret politically" the filibuster of the bill. He said the vote was a turning point.

"There is obviously a great deal of interest in the issue," Mr. Cochran said. "You sense that people are disturbed and alarmed about the developments going on around the world. It's a dangerous situation and it needs our attention."

Sen. Jon Kyl, Arizona Republican and another supporter, said efforts to set a deployment policy will continue as part of defense authorization and appropriations bills.

"As Indian nuclear testing has just demonstrated to us, we won't necessarily know when there's a threat," Mr. Kyl said in an interview. "It always takes longer than anticipated to develop weapons systems."

Noting that the Indian nuclear test came as a "complete surprise," Sen. Fred Thompson, Tennessee Republican, said, "We're hearing

the thunder now ... reminding us that some countries are more technologically clever than we gave them credit for."

Mr. Thompson called U.S. views on missile and weapons proliferation "a policy of delusion."

But Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle called the missile-defense legislation "the son of 'star wars'" -- the term used by critics of President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative program.

Defense Secretary William S. Cohen told a Senate subcommittee yesterday that the Pentagon's national missile defense plan is "a very high priority" program funded with "billions of dollars."

A deployment decision is expected within 18 months, he said.

Four Democrats voted with the Republicans: Mr. Inouye, Sen. Daniel K. Akaka of Hawaii, Sen. Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina and Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut.

An aide to Mr. Cochran said opponents of the bill "are merely delaying the inevitable."

Meanwhile, Mr. Cohen defended efforts to develop the regional anti-missile system known as THAAD -- Theater High-Altitude Area Defense -- after the program designed to intercept missiles with missiles suffered its fifth failure on Tuesday.

• This article is based in part on wire service reports.

After voting against BRAC in committee . . .**Warner To Propose Amendment To Review Base Closure Process**

After declining to vote in favor of another round of military base closure and realignment for fiscal year 1999, Sen. John Warner (R-VA) plans to bring to the Senate floor a bill that would establish a task force to study and suggest reforms to the BRAC process.

The Senate Armed Services Committee on May 7 voted 10-8 against an amendment to the FY-99 defense authorization bill that called for one round of base closures by 2001. Similar BRAC legislation also failed to pass last year during the mark-up of the FY-98 Senate authorization bill.

The base closure legislation both years was co-sponsored by Sens. John McCain (R-AZ) and Carl Levin (D-MI), the committee's ranking minority member. However, two members who last year voted in favor of the amendment this year bailed out: Warner and Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA).

One congressional source in support of BRAC asserted Warner's reason for turning tail was his well-known aspiration to head the Armed Services Committee.

"He promised [Senate Majority Leader Trent] Lott [R-MS] he wouldn't help bring BRAC to the floor this year," the source said. "He's heir apparent for the chairmanship, and who better to make that happen than the majority leader?"

A spokesman for Warner flatly denied the accusation and cited the senator's remarks during the mark-up as his true reasons for voting against BRAC this year.

"The BRAC rounds in 1991 and 1993 were basically free from challenge, but 1995 was a different story -- one with which we are all familiar," Warner said on May 7. "Like many of you, I was truly disappointed that we have come so far with such a degree of success only to have this process under such a dark cloud, break down with confidence lost."

"So it is under this cloud that we attempt to continue a discussion on the necessity of future base closures," Warner said during the committee mark-up. "The shadow cast on this process continues to grow -- seemingly unabated by our remarks and probably the counsel of Secretary Cohen. I am severely distressed by a recent Defense Department memo which, once again, puts in question the BRAC process."

Warner was referring to members' anger over how the Clinton administration carried out the recommendations of the 1995 BRAC Commission, specifically its handling of the "privatization" of McClellan Air Force Base in California and Kelly Air Force Base in Texas. The 1995 BRAC Commission recommended both bases be closed, but the Clinton administration intervened and instead outsourced the operations in place, thereby saving jobs.

Congressional Republicans accused Clinton of tampering with the process to win votes in Texas and California for the 1996 presidential election.

Tension escalated recently with the release of an April 26 memo from Acting Air Force Secretary F. Whitten Peters to Deputy Defense Secretary John Hamre, which House GOP officials say demonstrates the White House was tampering with a depot competition at McClellan. Peters' subsequent request to be recused from the source selection process was granted by Defense Secretary William Cohen (*Inside the Pentagon*, May 7, p1).

The Defense Department's request for more base closures already had little chance of passing, this being an election year for the House and part of the Senate. But the Peters memo sealed BRAC's fate, one Senate source said. Rather than proceed with more base closures under the current process, Warner will bring to the floor of the Senate legislation that would establish "a task force to assess activities in previous base closure rounds and to recommend improvements and alternatives to additional closure rounds."

Under the proposed law, three members of the task force would be appointed by the Senate majority leader, two by the minority leader, three by the House speaker and two by the House minority leader. Two more members would be appointed from among retired military officials and BRAC commission members, among others.

Among the task force duties would be reviewing the BRAC process established under the 1990 base closure law, studying the activities, reports and recommendations of each BRAC commission, and recommending alternatives to eliminating excess military infrastructure.

Warner plans to introduce his legislation when the FY-99 authorization bill is brought before the full Senate. If the amendment passes, the task force would issue a report on its findings no later than March 15, 1999.

But BRAC supporters like McCain and Levin are not giving up yet and will likely bring an amendment of their own to the floor in support of another round of BRAC -- one that substitutes the defense secretary's involvement in the process for the existing role of the president, a Senate aide said. -- *Darcia R. Harris*

Iraqi Oil Smuggling on Rise, Admiral Says

DUBAI, United Arab Emirates -- Iraqi smuggling of oil through Iranian waters to Persian Gulf ports is rising again after a dramatic fall in March, the top U.S. Navy commander in the gulf

said.

"It appears there is some faction or entity in Iran that is facilitating the smuggling and allowing them to use their territorial waters," said Vice Adm. Thomas Fargo, commander of the Bahrain-based 5th Fleet.

New York Times May 14, 1998

U.S. To Appeal To Indonesia Military To Stop Crackdown

By Philip Shenon

WASHINGTON -- The Clinton administration, concluding that it has almost no remaining diplomatic leverage with the government of Indonesia to stem the growing violence there, has decided to dispatch a high-level military delegation to demand that the security forces end their attacks on civilian demonstrators, officials said.

They said the delegation of military officers, which is being led by Adm. Joseph Prueher, the commander of all U.S. military forces in the Pacific, is scheduled to travel to Indonesia on Thursday to warn their Indonesian counterparts in blunt terms that the country could face collapse without restraint by the armed forces.

The officials said that Prueher would make what one described as a "soldier-to-soldier" appeal for restraint to Gen. Wiranto, the chief of the 400,000-strong Indonesian armed forces.

The Indonesian security forces killed at least six students at an elite private college in Jakarta on Tuesday, and there were reports of looting and setting of fires Wednesday in the Indonesian capital. At least one person was killed Wednesday afternoon, when a runaway truck plunged into a crowd. The looting continued into the night, when crowds turned their anger on the famil-

iar target of ethnic Chinese shopkeepers, with reports of people being trapped in burning buildings.

Administration officials said that the Pentagon hoped that Prueher's trip not be seen as an effort by the United States to side with the military against Suharto, or with the military against anti-government demonstrators.

"Our concern -- plain and simple -- is to do what we can to prevent the violence from spilling out of control," one said. "There is no other agenda. There is certainly no political agenda."

The Indonesian leader, who is facing the gravest challenge to his rule in the 32 years since he came to power, cut short an official visit to Egypt Wednesday to return home to deal with the turmoil, which began last summer with the collapse of the Indonesian currency, the rupiah, and has since expanded into a large political uprising.

While Wiranto -- like many Indonesians, he has only one name -- is seen as a reliable supporter of Suharto, he is also described by associates as a thoughtful soldier who would ultimately put the interests of the nation and the military ahead of the interests of the Indonesian president.

"We don't know an awful lot about Wiranto, but we generally have hope about him," said an administration official who is involved in Indonesian policy. "He seems to be more open

to dialogue, more understanding of the tensions in the system."

The Pentagon's decision to dispatch Prueher's delegation, which has not been announced publicly, came as Defense Secretary William S. Cohen released a memorandum to his colleagues in the Pentagon in which he barred all routine travel to Indonesia without special approval.

Cohen said the order was made necessary by "the unsettled political situation in Indonesia and the related prospects for violence and instability."

Administration officials, speaking on condition that they not be named, stressed that the United States military would have no role on the ground in Indonesia unless American troops were needed in the evacuation of the nearly 10,000 Americans who live and work across that vast archipelago nation.

They said that no evacuation order was imminent, and that there appeared to be no special danger to Americans or other Westerners in the country. About half of the American residents of Indonesia live in Jakarta and its suburbs.

One reason for sending a military delegation, officials said, was that there seemed little hope that direct appeals to Suharto for calm would have much impact given that he has dismissed appeals made in recent months by a series of foreign leaders and high-level American emissaries, including former Vice President Walter F. Mondale.

Mondale visited Indonesia in March at the request of President Clinton to ask that

Suharto abide by the terms of a \$43 billion Western bailout for the Indonesian economy.

Prueher, the commander-in-chief of the United States Pacific Command and the senior American military officer in the Pacific and Indian oceans, has been warning for months in his public comments of the possibility that Indonesia's economic crisis could undermine its political stability.

"It's the primary discussion point everywhere we go," he said in a meeting with reporters several weeks ago, warning that "the potential for instability has been high on our list for a while."

He is expected to meet both with General Wiranto, who took the post of armed services chief earlier this year, and Lieut. Gen. Prabowo Subianto, Suharto's son-in-law and the commander of a 27,000-member elite army unit that is responsible for security around Jakarta.

Prabowo is widely seen as Wiranto's chief rival within the Indonesia military, which has a direct political role in Indonesia through its control of a large share of the seats in the national Parliament.

Wiranto drew cautious praise from many diplomats in Jakarta earlier this month when he announced the formation of a team of serving and retired military officers to study the need for basic political reform in Indonesia. "We agree all these demands should be channeled into the national agenda," he said. At the same time, however, he said that "criminals" were responsible for some of the recent demonstrations against the Suharto government.

USA Today

May 14, 1998

Pg. 10

Suharto reportedly willing to resign

Experts skeptical; violence escalates

By James Cox
USA TODAY

JAKARTA, Indonesia — President Suharto hinted that he'll step down if he is no longer trusted to lead Indonesia, the *Jakarta Post* newspaper reported today.

Early today, fresh riots flared in the capital. At least 10 people have been

killed since Tuesday in protests, looting and gunfire, local media reported. Black smoke rose over the city center.

"If I am no longer trusted, I will become a *pandito* (sage) and endeavor to get closer to God," the newspaper quoted Suharto, 76, as saying in Egypt, where he attended an economic summit.

His comments came as parts of Indonesia edged toward chaos.

There were half a dozen flash points in the city, including a predominately ethnic Chinese quarter in west Jakarta.

Chinese people make up a tiny fraction of Indonesia's population but dominate commerce and industry. Indonesians make them scapegoats in tough times.

Suharto, facing the worst economic crisis of his three-decade rule and increasing demands for democratic reform, cut short his trip to Egypt.

Analysts distrusted Suharto's comments to resign and noted that he has made similar promises before.

Violence broke out last week after Suharto imposed tough austerity measures

under a \$43 billion rescue plan by the International Monetary Fund. Indonesia has suffered the most of any Asian country by the region's economic crisis. Inflation is at 40% a month, factories and businesses are closing down and millions of people are unemployed.

"This is not cooling down," a student activist named Achmad said. "This is going to be a hot battle with the military and police."

Muslim opposition leader Amien Rais

told cheering students that it was time for the country's military to choose between defending Suharto and defending the Indonesian people.

Wednesday in Jakarta, mobs looted and burned shops. Traffic was snarled for hours on most of the city's busiest roads. Rioters burned vehicles, torched a police substation and a gas station and stoned a fire engine.

Protesters marched near the stock exchange, where shares fell in panicked

trading. Shares of companies controlled by Suharto's children were hit hardest.

Meanwhile, two slain students were eulogized as national heroes and buried in south Jakarta at funerals attended by more than 10,000 mourners. Many of the mourners were students who shouted "Hang Suharto!"

Six students were hospitalized in the central Java city of Yogyakarta after police moved in with batons and tear gas.

Defense Daily

May 14, 1998

Pg. 6

Young Considering Slashing Funds For THAAD

By Sheila Foote

In an ominous sign for prime contractor **Lockheed Martin** [LMT], the chairman of the House defense appropriations panel yesterday indicated he is leaning toward zeroing FY '99 funding for the THAAD missile after its fifth failure in an intercept attempt Tuesday.

"This series of failures is very distressing and I'm going to look very hard at the whole issue," Rep. Bill Young (R-Fla.) said. Young's panel plans to mark up its FY '99 Defense Appropriations bill next month. The Army's request for THAAD in FY '99 is \$821 million.

"It's no use spending money on a program that's not going to work," Young told *Defense Daily*.

"I'm going to have to be convinced that there is a possibility of making this system work before I have any enthusiasm to put money for it into my mark," Young said.

New York Times

May 14, 1998

Russia And U.S. Agree On Nuclear Inspection Of Iraq

By Barbara Crossette

UNITED NATIONS -- The United States and Russia have reached a broad agreement on how to proceed with future nuclear-arms inspections of Iraq now that the International Atomic Energy Agency has declared itself ready to move out of an active disarmament phase and into long-term monitoring.

A formal statement by the Security Council is expected this week, though diplomats are hard pressed to explain why it is being further delayed, since council members are finally in accord and are preparing to ask the nuclear agency to prepare and present its plans for a change in monitoring.

After weeks of sometimes heated discussion, the Russians and Americans have agreed that the nuclear agency will report in July on Iraq's response to a number of still outstanding questions about its once-secret nuclear program. That leaves open the possibility of making the monitoring switch earlier than in October, during the next major Security

Council review of Iraq.

The United States held out against an earlier review, and has thus conceded some ground to the Russians and others who wanted quick action as a reward for Iraq's cooperation with the nuclear agency. But U.S. officials say they do not expect a clean slate for Iraq this summer, and perhaps not even in October.

The possibility of moving to what arms-control experts see as an inevitably lower level of inspections, with more opportunity for Iraqi obstruction, has led to an outcry among independent experts, intensified by the unexpected series of nuclear tests in India.

The Nuclear Control Institute in Washington, an independent research and advocacy group that opposes the spread of nuclear arms and technol-

ogy, has written to Bill Richardson, the U.S. representative to the United Nations, urging him to continue to oppose a graduation to long-term monitoring as premature.

Paul Leventhal, the institute's president, and Stephen Dolley, its research director, said that the atomic energy agency's own report last October showed that many crucial documents on weapons design and research were missing, along with documentation on foreign help that Iraq may have received.

Nuclear components, including equipment for uranium conversion, are still missing, the atomic energy agency said, while large stockpiles of uranium remain in Iraq. David Albright, president of the independent Institute for Science and International Security in Washington, said in an interview Wednesday that a new level of inspections, however rigorous the atomic agency insists they will be, would encourage Iraq to "whittle down" enforcement.

Under the new agreement between Russia and the United

States, Richard Butler, the executive chairman of the U.N. Special Commission on disarming Iraq, will be asked to give a "technical briefing" to the Security Council in early June.

He is expected to be pressed by the Russians, French and Chinese to justify why other files cannot be reviewed so that the commission can move out of the search-and-destroy phase to long-term surveillance.

Iraq is keeping up pressure on the council with vague threats of defiance if there is not also movement toward long-term monitoring of biological, chemical and missile programs.

The government of President Saddam Hussein is also creating some problems for the administrators of the "oil for food" program under which Iraq is now allowed to sell up to \$5.2 billion in oil every six months -- up from \$2 billion a year ago -- to raise money for medicines, food and other goods for the Iraqi population suffering from the economic embargo imposed almost eight years ago.

Philadelphia Inquirer

May 14, 1998

Pg. 4

Four Russian soldiers shot and killed their commanding officer yesterday, then looted an armory and fled in a stolen vehicle. They were later captured at a deserted rural hideout. The killing in a remote corner of northeastern Russia, along with a reported hazing death elsewhere in the country, called attention to the desperation and rage that seem to be the greatest enemy now facing the Russian military.

Senators urge troop cuts in Bosnia

By Nancy E. Roman
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Want Europeans to take burden

A group of senators is working behind the scenes to force President Clinton to scale back the number of troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 8,500 to 2,500 by February 2000.

Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison has drafted a bill that cuts U.S. troops to the same number France and Germany have deployed there, shifting the burden of the mission to European allies that have more at stake in the region.

"If there is another approach, I'm happy to work on it," the Texas Republican said. "What I'm unwilling to do is have another unending mission where we end up with 10,000 troops in perpetuity."

Mrs. Hutchison so far has built a strong base of support among the entire Republican leadership, including Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott of Mississippi and Senate Majority Whip Don Nickles of Oklahoma, as well as some powerful Democrats such as Sen. Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia.

"I'm for that," Mr. Lott said yesterday of Mrs. Hutchison's proposal. He said the mission has gone on long past what was promised. When asked whether the bill has enough support to pass, Mr. Lott said: "I don't know. It will be thoroughly debated."

Mrs. Hutchison has been working the Senate, member by member.

"I hear so many of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle concerned about Bosnia becoming

an unending mission," she said. "They are looking for a responsible way to limit this to what it was intended to be, which is a temporary bridge . . . that would not turn into nation building."

Senate sources said Sen. Strom Thurmond, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, also would like to end U.S. involvement in Bosnia. But he is reluctant to push Mrs. Hutchison's bill, which is opposed by committee member John McCain, Arizona Republican.

Sen. John W. Warner, Virginia Republican and second in seniority on the committee, has not yet made up his mind on the issue. He was unavailable for comment yesterday, but Mrs. Hutchison said he has told her he wants to limit U.S. involvement in Bosnia but is not sure of the best means.

John DeCrosta, a spokesman for Mr. Thurmond, said the chairman is working on a proposal that would require Congress to vote on the mission and would require the administration to devise an exit plan.

When Mr. Clinton sought congressional approval for the U.S. troop commitment 2½ years ago, the administration assured members that the mission would last for only 12 months — ending in December 1996. The estimated cost was \$2 billion.

Sixteen months after that deadline, there is no end in sight. Mr. Clinton has requested an addi-

tional \$1.9 billion to fund the troop operation, which would bring the total cost of the mission so far to nearly \$10 billion. There is no time line for getting out.

In March, a group of senators wrote to ask Mr. Clinton to outline the proposed costs of the mission as well as an exit strategy.

The administration responded by saying it would leave when the economy was stable, leading some to fear a permanent U.S. presence in the Balkans.

Polls showed that Americans overwhelmingly opposed the mission when it first began, but only one American has been killed, and there are few media reports on it.

Critics, including Mr. McCain, argue that setting a timetable ties the hands of the chief executive, who is charged with guiding the nation's foreign policy. "I don't think it's proper for Congress to dictate the number of troops," he said.

Sen. Carl Levin, the top Democrat on the Armed Services Committee, opposes deadlines because they micromanage and because they are opposed by the military commanders on the ground.

Nevertheless, Mrs. Hutchison will offer the amendment next week.

"I want to win this," she said, noting that it would be the first time the United States has sent a signal that the commitment is less than open-ended. "I think it will really focus the administration."

Jane's Defence Weekly

May 13, 1998

NATO Agrees On Plans To Extend Bosnian Peace Force

Marc Rogers, Brussels

NATO ambassadors have agreed plans for an indefinite extension of the multinational alliance-led peacekeeping force in Bosnia, including setting up an 800-strong paramilitary po-

lice unit and the outlines of criteria for an exit strategy.

The accord must still be approved at the forthcoming meeting of NATO foreign ministers. It will be presented over the coming weeks to non-NATO nations which contribute troops, including Russia.

The plan for the extension of the Stabilisation Force (SFOR), known internally by NATO military authorities as document 10407, will designate the new mission as 'Joint Forge', and slightly reduce

numbers from the existing 30,000-strong force.

The new force will assume more support functions for civilian aspects of implementing the Dayton peace agreement and is expected to be reduced in phases depending on the situation. Sources said no changes had been made to the SFOR rules of engagement and other specific policies such as detention of indicted war criminals.

NATO sources added that the plan includes 10 or 12 rough 'benchmarks' to gauge progress in re-establishing

stability in the war-torn former Yugoslav republic and to decide on when to plan force cuts. Semi-annual reviews will take place to decide if progress has been registered in areas such as: mineclearing, return of refugees, the status of the town of Brcko, democratisation, detention of indicted war criminals and combating corruption.

This "transition strategy" was said not to be exhaustive or automatic and was designed to reach an "end-state" rather than a specific "end-date" to the deployment.

The other major new ele-

ment in the plan will be the establishment of a Multinational Specialised Unit (MSU) to assume policing functions, which SFOR military personnel were not mandated to carry out and which until now the Bosnian local police and the UN International Police Task Force were unable to handle.

NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe Gen Wesley Clark said that one of the main problems still faced was endemic corruption. This had been estimated to have siphoned off more than \$100 million from international aid funds destined for rebuilding the country but which has been diverted to fund political parties or for personal gain.

It was said that Italy will furnish about half the MSU, modelled after the Italian Carabinieri or French Gendarmerie, with Argentina, Po-

land, the Netherlands and others having offered trained paramilitary police. The unit will be trained in such functions as riot control and will also help train the local police.

The USA requested the creation of the MSU as it claimed European allies were not adequately supporting efforts at restoring public order despite their furnishing most of the military troops. This was held to have been one of the most contentious issues in formulating and adopting the new mission. It figured prominently in the US Congressional decision to extend the US presence and was known to have caused some resentment in Europe. It was also noted that prominent allies such as France, the UK or Germany had not pledged a significant contribution and that detailed roles had still not been agreed.

Israeli Air Attack on Lebanon Kills Palestinian Guerrillas

Associated Press

TAANAYEL, Lebanon, May 13—In the deadliest attack in Lebanon in more than two years, Israeli jets bombed a training camp for Palestinian guerrillas today, killing as many as 10 and wounding 20 or more as they slept.

The Syrian-backed Fatah Uprising, a Palestinian faction opposed to Middle East peacemaking, said six of its fighters died in the rocket attack on what it described as "administrative positions" in eastern Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. It vowed "to make the enemy pay the price for this callous aggression."

Police said eight people were killed and 20 wounded, but state-run television and Beirut's private Voice of Lebanon radio station quoted hospital officials as saying 10 guerrillas were killed and 22 wounded.

In a statement, the Israeli military said their jets attacked "terror targets" in the Bekaa Valley and that all pilots returned safely to base.

It was not clear what prompted the attack near Taanayel, about 10 miles west of the Syrian border and 30 miles east of Beirut.

The raid came a day after pro-Iranian Hezbollah guerrillas in southern Lebanon wounded two Israeli soldiers and fired rockets toward Israel's border as revenge for Israeli shelling that wounded two Lebanese civilians.

The rare night raid was the deadliest Israeli strike in Lebanon since a 16-day aerial and ground bombing blitz in April 1996 that killed at least 175 people.

Fatah Uprising is a group that broke away from Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's mainstream Fatah faction in 1983.

USA Today

May 14, 1998

Pg. 10

Tests indicate devices big and small

India's arsenal seen as equal to U.S. in '60s

By Steven Komarow
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — India's nuclear tests reveal that it has secretly designed weapons ranging from small bombs for the battlefield to super-powerful hydrogen bombs that could destroy cities.

"They're probably up to where we were in the 1960s," said Peter Saracino, nuclear arms expert at the Monterey Institute Center for Nonproliferation Studies.

During the Cold War, the United States and Russia conducted thousands of underground tests to develop H-bombs and other atomic weapons. Among them were devices small and light enough,

often less than 1,000 pounds, to be mounted on missiles or placed in artillery shells. The weapons also included "atomic demolition munitions," explosives that could be placed by soldiers to blast open a mountain pass or destroy a dam.

In a scientific tour de force, India demonstrated with five tests this week that it can develop the same weapons.

India said its three-blast test Monday included one "thermonuclear" device. The term usually refers to an H-bomb. Since the force released was relatively small, U.S. scientists speculate that only part of a bomb was tested.

Two devices tested Wednesday released less force than 1,000 tons of TNT, India said. That could indicate the development of very small weapons for use in battle.

While details are not known, it's clear that India's nuclear technology has greatly advanced from 1974, when it con-

ducted its only previous atomic test.

"What they've done is obviously prove for themselves a range of capabilities," said George Perkovich, who is writing a book on India's nuclear program. "But we shouldn't assume that India is now actually going to deploy and build a nuclear arsenal."

Deployment would mean turning the designs into weapons that are ready for delivery in planes or atop missiles. India already has the planes and missiles, but experts say deployment is a costly task that India may avoid unless provoked.

Karl Inderfurth, undersecretary of State for South Asia, said in Congress on Wednesday that India had not deployed nuclear missiles. But India has said it would — if neighboring Pakistan did.

"This could get much worse before it gets better," he said.

India said it plans no more atomic tests. But that doesn't

mean it won't continue to refine its arsenal.

India can take information collected from the blasts and create simulations on its supercomputers to improve the designs. The United States uses those techniques under President Clinton's no-testing policy.

"This now means (India) can follow the United States and have a 'virtual' arsenal," Saracino said. "Then, if they ever feel the need, they can still leap ahead" and build the weapons.

India's decision to test may have hinged as much on pride as military need, Perkovich said.

"My view of this is it's the scientists wanting to show they can cook the entire menu that was cooked by the Soviet scientists or the U.S. scientists," he said. There may be "no connection with any kind of military strategy."

Contributing: Barbara Slavin

New York Times

May 14, 1998

Clinton, Citing India's 'Mistake,' Imposes Sanctions

By James Bennet

BERLIN -- President Clinton sharpened his criticism of the Indian government Wednesday, calling its decision to detonate five nuclear explosions underground a "terrible mistake" as he announced a raft of economic sanctions in reprisal.

On a two-day visit to Germany, the president disclosed the sanctions Wednesday afternoon after meeting in Potsdam with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Clinton decided to impose sanctions while flying here on Tuesday night, before India surprised the administration with two additional tests Wednesday morning. Although they had not expected the tests Wednesday, administration officials had feared that they might take place eventually, because Indian officials had refused to rule them out.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich attacked Clinton for punishing India while overlooking China's sale of missile technology to Pakistan and Iran.

"Look how angry he is at a democracy and how tolerant he is of a dictatorship," Gingrich said.

Although Clinton repeatedly expressed sadness and even bitterness over the nuclear tests, he also sounded a note of understanding, suggesting that India, which he called "a perfectly wonderful country," may have been motivated by a lack of self-esteem because it believes it is "underappreciated" as a world power.

"And they think one reason may be that they're not an out-front out-of-the-closet open nuclear power," Clinton continued. "Well, I think they've been underappreciated in the world and in the United States myself."

But, as Kohl chuckled at his side, Clinton added that to try to "manifest your greatness" by detonating thermonuclear devices and atomic bombs "when everybody else is trying to leave the nuclear age behind, is

just wrong."

"It is just wrong," he added.

The administration had anticipated further tests because Indian officials were evasive when asked about their plans on Tuesday by Thomas Pickering, the undersecretary of state for political affairs. "There was a lot of hemming and hawing," a senior administration official said Wednesday.

American intelligence detected activity in the bomb site after the tests on Monday, one official said, but it was not clear whether the Indians were cleaning up from the first tests or preparing for more.

A federal law mandates that the president impose sanctions against a nation that conducts such tests, although it permits him to delay acting for 30 days. Clinton decided against such a delay after learning that Pickering had not received a straight answer, officials said.

Clinton said that the Indian tests "clearly create a dangerous new instability in their region." He said that in a telephone conversation Wednesday morning he had urged Prime Minister Awaz Sharif of Pakistan not to respond to India with tests of its own.

But although the administration continues to press Pakistan not to act, officials privately said they expected the pleas to go unheeded.

The president did not sound optimistic, saying of Sharif, "The pressures on him at home are probably enormous."

Even so, Clinton did not go as far as Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., who heads the Foreign Relations Committee. Helms said at a hearing Wednesday, "India's actions clearly constitute an emerging nuclear threat to the territory of the United States."

On Capitol Hill, there was widespread criticism of India and, despite Gingrich, general support for the president's action. But that was combined with widespread criticism of the failure to anticipate the tests.

"Why didn't anyone in the administration or in this Congress notice that the Hindu national party had campaigned on a promise to make India a nuclear power?" asked Sen. Bob

Kerrey, D-Nebr., who is on the intelligence committee.

Clinton and Kohl made statements and responded to six questions Wednesday on the broad back terrace of the pale yellow San Souci Palace in Potsdam in what was once East Germany. It was while attending a conference in Potsdam after the defeat of Nazi Germany that Harry Truman, the last American president to visit there, learned of the first successful nuclear test in history, by the United States at Trinity site in New Mexico.

Kohl did not join Clinton in immediately announcing sanctions. But he said that Germany would "make it very clear that this was the wrong decision for them to take."

Clinton is planning to attend the annual international economic summit known as the Group of Seven beginning on Friday in England. The national security adviser, Samuel Berger, said he hoped that the participants would "issue a very strong and clear statement condemning the action of India."

Berger called the sanctions "fairly substantial and powerful" and said that the administration would wait to gauge their effects before taking further steps against India over its tests Wednesday.

The sanctions shut off not only direct aid from the federal government to India, worth \$142.3 million this year, but they also cancel an assortment of federal loans and loan guarantees worth billions. Further, they compel the administration to oppose any loans or loan guarantees from international financial institutions to India, which had expected to receive \$3.8 billion from pending loan approvals.

The sanctions also affect companies that do business in India, and they cancel licenses of American arms companies to export munitions to India and block pending licenses. The sanctions prohibit loans by American banks to the Indian government, except to buy food or agricultural supplies.

After his meetings in Potsdam, Clinton returned here to address German officials in the Schauspielhaus Concert

Hall. Calling the end of the Cold War "the opportunity of generations," the president surveyed American-German and American-European relations and laid out new missions for NATO, which was created to contain the vanished Soviet Union.

Clinton called for NATO to defend against threats like weapons proliferation and ethnic violence; to promote economic growth; to strengthen democracy, particularly in Russia, and to enhance global cooperation to protect the environment and combat terrorism.

"In a world grown smaller, what happens beyond our borders touches our daily lives at home," Clinton said. "America and Europe must work together to shape this world."

New York Times

May 14, 1998

Kremlin Soft-Pedals Its Rebuke To India, Opposes Sanctions

By Michael R. Gordon

MOSCOW -- Russia on Wednesday reaffirmed its refusal to join other countries in punishing India for resuming nuclear tests, and has so far failed to register an especially strong diplomatic protest.

President Boris N. Yeltsin still plans to visit India later this year. And some top officials at Russia's Ministry of Atomic Energy want to go ahead with plans to sell India two nuclear power plants.

"Sanctions are an extreme measure, which is not always productive," Foreign Minister Yevgeny M. Primakov said. "Therefore, I don't think we shall support any sanctions against India."

None of this means that Moscow is eager to see a nuclear arms race in Southern Asia. Russian diplomats have publicly deplored the blasts and say they hope Pakistan will not respond in kind.

Having decided to stop nuclear testing, the Russian military is not happy to see other nations flout the call for a worldwide ban on nuclear explosions.

"We deeply regret this action," Vladimir Rakhmanin, the

chief spokesman for the Russian Foreign Ministry, said. "We believe we may influence India through political and diplomatic means."

But Russia's complaints have been muted and reflect its close commercial ties with India. Rosvooruzheniye, Russia's government-owned arms export company, said last week that India was one of its largest buyers, no small consideration for military factories that have fallen on hard times.

The muffled criticism is also a matter of foreign policy. India's rivalry with China makes it a potential counterweight to Beijing in the Russian strategic calculus -- just as it was in Soviet times.

India's strained relations with Washington also make New Delhi a sympathetic partner for the Russian Foreign Ministry, whose influence has shrunk since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

"In Russia's corridors of power they don't allow for the

possibility of economic sanctions or the recalling of ambassadors," the newspaper Izvestia observed Wednesday. "Moscow seems ready to close its eyes to the violations of international norms."

Moscow's modulated reaction has undercut Washington's effort to teach the Indians a lesson.

The United States' sharp riposte after the blasts almost certainly came as little surprise to India. A tough response by India's friends, however, might have persuaded the Indian government that its nuclear ambitions meant diplomatic isolation.

President Clinton and Yeltsin discussed India's tests and other security issues in a long telephone conversation on Tuesday, according to Sergei Prikhodko, an adviser to Yeltsin. But there has been no indication that Russia is prepared to harden its position.

"Frankly, India is a very

good friend of ours and we have very good relations," Yeltsin said on Tuesday. "During my visit to India this year I shall make every effort to somehow overcome the problem."

India's tests have confronted Russia with a difficult decision: whether to sell nuclear power plants to India in a deal that is worth \$1.5 billion to \$2 billion. The contract was to be made final this year.

Moscow has argued that the nuclear plants are intended for civilian use and would be subject to international monitoring to prevent them from contributing to India's military potential.

But Washington has protested the sale, saying it violates a 1992 agreement among nuclear suppliers not to sell nuclear technology to aspiring nuclear powers.

The American objections were lodged long before India's latest tests, but the blasts have raised the stakes.

Viktor Mikhailov, the hard-

line first deputy minister at Russia's Atomic Energy Ministry, insists the sale should go through.

"Our contacts have deep roots," Mikhailov said, referring to Russia's relations with India. "And the competition on the global market for construction of atomic stations is very tough. So I hope that the leadership of our country will help safeguard this market for us."

Other Russian aides, however, suggested the sale might only go ahead if India assured the world it would abandon nuclear testing.

But while Russian officials defended their quiet diplomacy, Moscow seems to have no success in persuading India to curtail its nuclear program.

For all the close cooperation, Moscow insisted it had no advance warning of recent explosions.

"This nuclear test came as a big surprise," Yeltsin said on Tuesday.

Los Angeles Times

May 14, 1998

India Outpaces Pakistan In Arms Race But Still Faces Threat

By Paul Richter

WASHINGTON -- The Indian subcontinent has lived under an umbrella of nuclear deterrence for years, yet the threat of a runaway arms race has always lurked near as India and Pakistan have accumulated nuclear material and developed deadly ways to deliver it.

India has one of the world's most ambitious missile programs, and far outpaces smaller Pakistan in most every military area. Yet, over 26 years, Pakistan has bought and begged enough nuclear technology to make it a credible nuclear threat to its southern neighbor.

India's atomic arms program has been built on the civilian nuclear effort that had its first operational reactor up and running in the early 1960s. By 1974, India announced it had conducted a nuclear test for "peaceful" purposes -- a sign to outsiders that it could make a bomb if it so chose.

Today, India is believed to have enough nuclear material to make 80 to 100 bombs, says the Center for Defense Infor-

mation in Washington. Pakistan has enough for eight to 13, the group estimates.

Helping advance India's weapons-building program is a civilian and military nuclear infrastructure that has grown to be "enormous," says Andrew Koch, an analyst at the center. And the country has a space program that cross-pollinates its efforts to build ballistic missiles, analysts say.

India also has built up a large air force with several planes capable of carrying nuclear bombs: Soviet-built MiGs, French Jaguars and Mirages.

But bombers take longer to reach their target and are far more vulnerable to air defenses than the ballistic missiles, which can streak from New Delhi to Islamabad in minutes.

The shorter-range Indian missile, the Prithvi, is designed to deliver warheads more than 200 miles, a range that would allow strikes throughout most of Pakistan. The newer, longer-range Agni, nearing full-scale production, can probably reach at least 1,200 miles which

would take it as far west as the northern end of the Persian Gulf and as far east as China's eastern provinces.

Pakistan has never had resources enough for a large nuclear weapons development program.

But it has acquired weapons technology from other countries, including the Chinese.

Pakistan was far behind when the Indians announced their first nuclear test in 1974, but by 1983, the U.S. State Department was acknowledging that Pakistan had the know-how to produce a nuclear bomb, said Clay Bowen of the Monterey Institute Center for Non-Proliferation Studies.

From then on, the two countries were considered to have the capability to deploy weapons if they wished. They were, it was said, "a screw-driver's turn away" from a nuclear bomb.

The Pakistanis also have accumulated fighter bombers to deliver bombs, including U.S.-made F-16s.

Their M-9 missiles, believed

to be supplied by the Chinese, have a range of about 500 miles; the Pakistanis also have been testing the Ghouri missile, which has a range of more than 900 miles.

Some analysts believe that if the Pakistanis press on with their nuclear program as a result of the Indian test, their next goal may be to test a warhead light enough to fit on a missile such as the Ghouri.

But the goal of India's tests was not just to frighten the Pakistanis. It was also to put their rival Chinese on notice of their capabilities, and to impress world powers as well, notes Andrew Krepinevich of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Studies in Washington.

Yet India has a long way to go to play in the league of the Chinese. With 400 nuclear weapons, a large air force and a huge complement of ballistic missiles, China's arsenal looms over India's as India's does over Pakistan. Whatever India's aspirations, its arms are, so far, "inferior, across the board," said analyst Koch.

2 New Tests Again Catch U.S. Intelligence Off Guard

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writer

The U.S. intelligence community was caught by surprise again yesterday when India announced it had tested two more nuclear devices, according to sources in the administration and on Capitol Hill.

As with Monday's three larger explosions, there was no warning by U.S. intelligence that India would set off two more underground tests at its Pokaran test site in the Rajasthan desert, one senior administration official said yesterday.

The two explosions were "very small, very low yield [and] needed little preparation that probably would not have been visible" to satellite imagery, the official said in explaining the lack of warning.

Officially, CIA officials and other members of the intelligence community declined to comment on whether the agency had advance indications of yesterday's additional tests. But at a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing yesterday, Robert J. Einhorn, deputy assistant secretary of state for nonproliferation, said, "I personally woke up this morning and I did not know about it."

Sen. Richard C. Shelby (R-Ala.), chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, said yesterday the administration "was caught off guard twice." Recalling that he has defended and praised the CIA and Pentagon intelligence collection and analytical agencies in the past, Shelby said of this week's performance, "Something went wrong and we are going to try to find out what happened."

Shelby's panel and the House Intelligence Committee will be briefed behind closed doors today by CIA Director George J. Tenet, in his role as director of central intelligence, on various agencies' failure to warn policymakers about the Indian tests.

"I am astonished that the Indian government was able to catch the U.S. intelligence capability so sound asleep at the

switch," said Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms (R-N.C.).

In Berlin, national security adviser Samuel L. "Sandy" Berger defended the CIA director, saying that "the president has full confidence in Director Tenet" and "confidence in his very strong leadership of the intelligence community."

Berger said Undersecretary of State Thomas R. Pickering and others had been concerned after Monday's announcement of the first three tests that there may be more in the works. Pickering, a former ambassador to India, on Monday questioned Indian government officials "specifically whether they intended to explode any further devices," Berger said.

When the Indians were "non-responsive," Berger said, "we were apprehensive after the first set of tests that there could be more."

But at Capitol Hill briefings Tuesday, John Lauder, director of the CIA-based nonproliferation center that is manned by CIA, Pentagon and Department of Energy analysts, gave no indication that any more tests

were expected, one participant said.

Lauder's group analyzes imagery intelligence collected by the Pentagon's National Imagery and Mapping Agency, signals intelligence picked up by the National Security Agency and human intelligence from the CIA's Directorate of Operations. It provides summaries of from all these sources to the White House.

While awaiting the outcome of Tenet's formal inquiry into the intelligence community's acknowledged failure, experts were already yesterday beginning to point out weaknesses in both the technical and human intelligence collection.

Former CIA director R. James Woolsey told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that what had occurred was not only a failure of U.S. intelligence but "a failure of academics, of think tanks, of the press -- if I may say so, of the Congress [and] the executive branch as a whole." He pointed out that in public statements, the new Indian leaders had stated they were unconcerned with U.S. statements against

nuclear proliferation, and that "building nuclear weapons could be one of the few policies the Indian coalition government could agree on."

In addition, he noted that the Indians had maintained their nuclear weapons test facility "in a very high state of readiness" after 1995, when U.S. officials protested the prospect that India appeared to be preparing a nuclear test.

In making their protest in 1995, Woolsey said, U.S. officials may have shown intelligence imagery that revealed "something about our sources and methods" of gathering satellite intelligence.

Other administration and Capitol Hill sources questioned that proposition. One Hill intelligence specialist said, "Everyone knows about our satellites. There is even a Web site where you can plug in your longitude and latitude and you will be told the exact time that U.S. intelligence satellites will pass over."

Woolsey and others pointed out that past reductions in intelligence spending may have had some effect on this week's failures. Fewer satellites, personnel cuts among analysts and the recent loss of CIA specialists were also cited.

A Feared Scenario Around the Corner *Preventing Nuclear Strike Capability Has Been a U.S. Goal for Subcontinent*

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

For much of the past decade, U.S. policy toward the Asian subcontinent has been quietly consumed by one major ambition: to keep archenemies India and Pakistan from obtaining nuclear-tipped missiles capable of destroying each other's major population centers with just a few minute's warning time.

U.S. intelligence analysts have repeatedly warned that relations between the countries are so poor and so often swayed by domestic politics that the mutual attainment of this capability could make the unthinkable -- a nuclear exchange between bitter regional

rivals -- a reality.

But now, with India's tests this week of five nuclear bombs, U.S. officials say this nightmare scenario could be around the corner. India is suspected of having tested a warhead capable of fitting atop its new medium-range Agni missiles, each capable of striking major Pakistani cities. Pakistan, for its part, had flight-tested one of its own nuclear-capable Ghauri missiles five weeks earlier, which could strike virtually any Indian city.

So far, neither side has deployed its most advanced missiles with nuclear warheads, but U.S. analysts have speculated that both countries could probably do so in a year or two. If so, it would mean that for the

first time in the 50 years since India and Pakistan were partitioned by religious differences, they would each possess a hair-trigger ability to wreak nuclear destruction on the other.

The nuclear tests by India, and some worrisome steps taken earlier by Pakistan, have accelerated the subcontinent's arms race and sown new uncertainty about its outcome, according to U.S. officials and independent experts. For years, "they have been inching along toward a nuclear and missile capability," acting undersecretary of state John Holum said in an interview yesterday. "Now India has just taken a big leap along that path." Several other officials said that India's

Washington Post
May 14, 1998
Pg. 29

nuclear blasts mean that Washington's long-standing efforts to contain proliferation in the region have been mostly for naught. Diplomatic and economic pressure applied not only in India and Pakistan but also against several key supplier nations often has been circumvented or ignored.

Operating stealthily and with its checkbook at the ready, Pakistan has circumvented Washington's campaign by importing key nuclear technology from China and complete, medium-range, ballistic missiles from both China and North Korea. India, for its part, has used Canadian-made reactors to produce plutonium for its nuclear bombs and made its own missiles with know-how acquired from the United States and Russia.

"There is a lot of momentum in the strategic programs, including the ballistic missile programs," deputy assistant secretary of state Robert Einhorn told the Senate Foreign Relations committee yesterday. "We've put a very high priority in trying to promote restraint."

But other officials said the latest tests reflect the fact that the two countries are nearing their goal in lock-step, with each ratcheting up its military programs in response to the acquisition of key pieces of technology by the other. In explaining their nuclear blasts, for example, Indian officials have complained in part that Pakistan's test of the Ghauri missile was a provocative military display and required an Indian riposte.

Pakistan's military named the missile, which has an estimated range of around 860 miles, after a famous Muslim warrior who slew a Hindu emperor named Prithvi. But the missile was in fact purchased by Pakistan from North Korea in a secret 1997 deal that caused the Clinton administration to invoke economic sanctions against government entities in both countries on May 4.

The missile was purchased by Khan Research Laboratories, which has long played a key role in the development of Pakistan's nuclear weapons, from a North Korean firm called the Changwang Sinyong Corporation. Cash-strapped engineers in North Korea had

developed the missile under the name No Dong, and sold what U.S. officials described as a "handful" of the weapons to Pakistan for millions of dollars even before the No Dong was fielded by the North Korean military.

Although Washington has repeatedly asked North Korea to constrain its missile sales to such volatile regions, the country has said it will do so only if Washington pays an amount equivalent to its profits from such sales. "They will sell virtually anything for cash," said a senior U.S. official.

U.S. officials had also approached Pakistan to complain about suspicious contacts with North Korea, but the Pakistani officials denied anything untoward. The transfer subsequently escaped U.S. detection until after it was completed, several officials said.

The Ghauri is not the first nuclear-capable missile acquired by Pakistan, but it is clearly the best. U.S. intelligence officials say that Pakistan had acquired several dozen nuclear-capable missiles from China, in a deal concluded by Beijing shortly after Washington's 1982 sale of F-16 fighter planes to Taiwan. These missiles, known as the M-11, have a range of roughly 180 miles, which makes it incapable of striking major Indian cities. So the Ghauri gives Pakistan's military an assured means for the first time of striking New Delhi from various locations inside Pakistan.

Six months before Pakistan tested the Ghauri, India had provoked Pakistani outrage by moving some of its short-range Prithvi missiles close to the Pakistani border. Derived from a Russian air-defense missile known as the SA-2, the Prithvi is not capable of carrying a nuclear weapon. But it has been used by India as the second stage of a missile that could carry such arms -- the Agni, which has an estimated range of 1250 miles and was last flight-tested in 1994.

The first stage of the Agni is a copy of the U.S.-made Scout space rocket, which Washington sold to India many years ago. "They were able to get a lot of useful stuff from foreigners before the doors came crashing down" in the late

1980s, when the United States and other nations first began to worry seriously about missile proliferation, one official said.

If one of the nuclear tests was indeed a new warhead meant to be deployed with the Agni, India has abundant nuclear material on hand for use in such warheads. It has operated several Canadian-designed nuclear reactors to produce plutonium for its bomb program for many years, and has so much material stockpiled that this week its officials endorsed a global treaty to end new production of fissile material.

Such a pact has long been pushed by Washington, but it has been resisted by Pakistan -- which has far less fissile material on hand -- on grounds that it would effectively allow India to retain a permanent advantage. In contrast to India, which relies primarily on plutonium to fuel its bombs, Pakistan has used highly-enriched uranium. But in January, Pakistan acknowledged that it had begun operating a nuclear reactor

built with Chinese assistance, that U.S. officials say is ideally suited for producing plutonium for weapons.

Several officials said that when deputy national security adviser Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger visited Pakistan, he obtained a Pakistani pledge that it would not enrich uranium to the level considered ideal for nuclear arms. But U.S. intelligence officials have said they have evidence that Pakistan has not kept its pledge.

If the two countries eventually field nuclear-equipped, medium-range ballistic missiles, they will be subject to some of the same tensions experienced by the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, U.S. officials said.

"With the superpowers, at least there was a territorial buffer zone. With these two, there not only is no buffer zone, but you have a territorial dispute over Kashmir that could provide the sparks for a war," said one official.

New York Times

India's Testing Called Bad News For Subcontinent

By William J. Broad

India's test this week of a thermonuclear device deep beneath its northwestern desert is significant because it suggests the nation is trying to develop for various weapons systems a variety of nuclear warheads, including hydrogen bombs.

Such weapons are up to thousands of times stronger than atom bombs. In fact, hydrogen bombs are known as city-busters, and their less potent kin are often looked down on as weak and inferior.

In 1952, when the United States exploded the world's first hydrogen bomb, the Pacific isle of Elugelab, one mile in diameter, simply vanished.

The bomb's power was equal to 10.4 million tons of high explosive, or about 700 times as powerful as the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

In interviews Wednesday,

May 14, 1998

Western experts said they worried that India's thermonuclear test will not only enhance the deadliness of its missiles but prompt Pakistan, its old foe, to take similar steps. And that, they added, could lead to a dangerous spiral of move and countermove, much as the superpowers vied for supremacy during the Cold War.

More ticklish, India and Pakistan differ in important respects from Moscow and Washington. They are close neighbors torn by a long history of ethnic conflict and hatred.

"It doesn't bode well for the subcontinent," Thomas Cochran, a senior scientist at the Natural Resources Defense Council in Washington and co-author of the "Nuclear Weapons Databook," said of the Indian thermonuclear blast.

"It implies that they are trying to develop a light-weight weapon that can be readily carried on a missile," he continued.

On Monday, India announced that it had detonated "a thermonuclear device" beneath its northwestern desert

along with two atomic bombs. It was the first public hint that India is working to develop advanced types of nuclear weapons.

The term "thermonuclear" means the ignition requires great heat, typically as hot as the surface of the sun.

In contrast, atom bombs

work at room temperature.

Thermonuclear tests are conducted when an atomic bomb is exploded to release blistering heat that is then harnessed to fuse together isotopes of hydrogen, which in turn release even more of the energy stored at the heart of the atom.

New York Times May 14, 1998

Pakistan Demands That World Powers Isolate India

By Stephen Kinzer

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan -- Pakistani leaders demanded that the United States and other world powers act decisively to isolate India after its five nuclear tests this week. They strongly hinted that the strength of the world's response would shape their decision on whether to detonate nuclear bombs of their own.

"The invoking of mandatory sanctions under U.S. laws against India hardly constitutes

an effective response," Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan said, alluding to actions taken by President Clinton. "Indian actions, which pose an immediate and grave threat to Pakistan's security, will not go unanswered."

Cabinet ministers and senior opposition figures joined in asserting that the tests pose a crucial challenge to the rest of the world, which they believe has long favored India in its decades-old rivalry with Pakistan.

They want to see India turned into a pariah state like Iraq, effectively expelled from the community of law-abiding nations.

If foreign powers do not react strongly enough, officials suggested in interviews and speeches, Pakistan may follow India's example and become a declared and active nuclear power. That could further destabilize what has suddenly become the world's newest zone of atomic confrontation.

"It depends on how effectively the United States, Japan and other actors deal with this whole scenario," Khan said in an interview. "This has upset the whole geopolitical and strategic structure of the Indian subcontinent and all of South Asia. Just a rebuke and a couple of weeks of posturing is not going to be enough."

Khan said the first test of the how seriously the world will react would come this weekend at the Group of 7 meeting in Birmingham, England, at which leaders of the most powerful industrial democracies will discuss what measures to take against India.

Just how Pakistan will respond is now the topic of de-

bate here and in many capitals. The United States and other countries are doing all they can to persuade Pakistan not to reply in kind. Pakistan's Cabinet scheduled a meeting for Thursday morning to consider its options.

Like India, Pakistan has for years possessed the technology necessary to build nuclear weapons. Until the Indian detonations this week, however, it had not felt obligated to build and test them. Pakistan's senior nuclear scientist, Qadeer Khan, said after the first detonations Monday that he could build a bomb within days of being ordered to do so.

Public and political pressure on the government to detonate its own nuclear devices has become intense. One newspaper columnist wrote Tuesday that only such detonations could prevent "the annihilation of the Muslims on the Indian subcontinent, which is considered a necessary precursor to the rise and renaissance of a pristine Hindu India."

USA Today

May 14, 1998

India Knew How To Hide From U.S. Eyes

By William E. Burrows

The failure of American spy satellites and eavesdropping antennas to alert Washington about preparations for India's nuclear tests has sent government officials into a whirl of finger-pointing at the intelligence community.

They're asking how it can be that the most sophisticated "technical collection system" in the world could have missed the lead-up to the nuclear tests.

The answer: Even the most elaborate satellites can't find nuclear facilities underground. And it doesn't matter what above-ground activity America's bus-size satellites managed to photograph from space during their one chance in a 24-hour period: If no one was looking for the activity, it wasn't noticed.

These basics were as true in the Cold War, when Washington paid attention to one country, as they are now that weapons-treaty advocates want the

intelligence community to pay attention to many places at once. And the basics aren't likely to change even if satellite capabilities increase dramatically.

It's the second Space Age

Improvements on India's part compound the technical problems. Indeed, India's tests signal a new dimension in the global intelligence equation, marked by the second Space Age and the breakup of powerful countries' monopoly on both nuclear weapons and spy satellites.

Space reconnaissance during the first Space Age, the Cold War period, was largely done by the United States and the Soviets to pinpoint nuclear targets and verify arms-control agreements. Starting in 1960, the U.S. created a series of brilliant satellite systems that photographed Soviet military targets.

The Soviets followed suit, and for decades the two an-

tagonists had the field to themselves. Photographic intelligence and signal intercepts became routine. Frequent media leaks about what the Soviets were up to left the impression that the satellites missed nothing. Everyone knew - or thought they knew - that anyone's license plate could be read from 100 miles up. Not true. But training attention on a single problem afforded the impression of omniscience.

These days, the two sets of spies in the sky have neighbors. China, France, India, Israel - and soon Japan - operate dedicated military reconnaissance satellites. Some of their cameras can differentiate objects at a resolution of a yard or less.

India knew what others know

The satellites' advantages have not been wasted on India. Not only do they send useful information about enemies, but they also teach how to conceal important military activities from others' space-borne eyes:

Thanks to its own experience and a few U.S. satellite pictures, the Indian military knew that U.S. satellites can't see underground. Placing material there at night or under cloud cover foils all snoopers except radar satellites. And they have inferior resolution anyway.

The U.S. learned of satellite neophytes' newfound wisdom after sharing reconnaissance data with Iraq during its eight-year war with Iran. During the Persian Gulf War, the wisecracking Iraqis hid mobile Scud missiles from American attack.

By contrast, Libya's underground work has been stung by satellites. When American satellites failed to find above-ground pumping stations for a desert tunnel at one location, analysts were able to speculate about the tunnel's true military purpose - to move soldiers southward.

A Libya with satellites would have understood the nuances of photographing above ground to learn what's

underground.

Former CIA director James Woolsey was right when he said the Soviet dragon may be dead, but we now live in a garden with many poisonous snakes. And these snakes are smart. It is no coincidence that

in every instance, possession of nuclear weapons and space reconnaissance go hand in hand.

Missing India's preparations was a political failure, since we were told it was in the offing as surely as the Kremlin told us

that it intended to launch Sputnik. False pride prevented the U.S. intelligence community and politicians from taking the Indians seriously. In this second Space Age, the nuclear genie is out of the bottle once and for all, and so is spying

from space and all of the ways of hiding that come with it.

William E. Burrows is author of This New Ocean, the story of the first Space Age, to be published in October.

New York Times

May 14, 1998

Silence of the Spies

To escape obsolescence when the cold war ended, America's intelligence agencies said they would tackle threats like terrorism and the spread of nuclear weapons. Yet after spending billions of dollars on these efforts, the spy services inexplicably gave President Clinton no warning that India was ready to test nuclear weapons this week. That failure requires not only a searching inquiry into the mishandling of India's nuclear threat but also a broader examination of how effectively spy agencies are tracking the development of nuclear technologies abroad.

This was not just an intelligence failure. The Clinton Administration as a whole misread India's intentions. Though the new Hindu nationalist Government talked openly of its interest in nuclear weapons, the White House and the State Department did not confront the issue squarely or make clear that nuclear testing would be greeted with diplomatic and economic sanctions. That was a policy mistake that Mr. Clinton and Madeleine Albright need to investigate.

But lapses by the policy makers do not excuse the intelligence fizzle. Techniques for detecting nuclear test preparations have been available for years and were often used to spot Soviet and

Chinese activities before underground explosions. Satellites equipped with powerful cameras can monitor work at test sites, which are usually located in unpopulated areas where the movement of equipment and installation of measuring devices can be closely tracked from space. Communications can be intercepted.

Either intelligence officials failed to concentrate enough resources on the Indian test site in the Rajasthan desert, or they paid insufficient attention to the information that was collected. All the Indian talk in recent weeks about nuclear weapons provided plenty of time to adjust satellite orbits and to initiate other efforts to learn about test preparations.

There certainly could not have been a shortage of money or technology. Congress has shoveled money at the Central Intelligence Agency and its fellow espionage organizations since the Soviet Union collapsed, expecting that they would give Washington an edge in fighting terrorism and limiting the development of nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction. An interlocking set of treaties to control nuclear arms depends in no small measure on the ability of American intelligence agencies to detect violations. That is why it is essential that President Clinton and Congress determine whether the failure in India was an isolated case or part of a wider breakdown in one of the most important arenas of American espionage.

San Diego Union-Tribune

May 13, 1998

Top Enlisted Men Oppose Gender-Segregated Recruit Training

How forces operate called a key factor; high morale reported

By Otto Kreisher
COPLEY NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON -- The top enlisted men of the four armed services yesterday opposed the congressional push to force all the services to separate men and women in recruit training, arguing that their training must match the way their forces operate.

The senior servicemen also said they are finding some concerns among the troops over high deployment rates, aging equipment and the perception that benefits are declining. But they insisted that morale generally remains high.

The debate over how the services train their recruits was sharpened by the House National Security Committee's decision last week to order all the services to put male and female recruits in separate units and barracks.

The Senate Armed Services Committee, in its defense bill,

chose to delay any decision until a commission created by Congress completes a study of the gender-integration issue late this year.

Currently, the Army, Navy and Air Force -- which integrate the sexes in most of their units -- train men and women together in boot camp, while housing them in separate parts of the same barracks.

The Marine Corps, which has a large percentage of its personnel in ground combat jobs that are closed to women, keeps men and women separate in boot camp, but brings them together in later training.

Meeting with reporters yesterday, the top enlisted men echoed their leaders, insisting that each military branch be allowed to decide how to train its recruits.

"It is very important from my perspective that we (services) not be made to train alike," said Chief Master Ser-

geant of the Air Force Eric W. Benken. "We are different. We have different needs."

Added Master Chief Petty Officer of the Navy James L. Herdt: "A policy that applies across the services won't work."

Speaking for all the services, Benken said: "Nobody has shown us where we haven't done the mission. Whether it's the Army, the Navy, the Air Force or the Marines, everything we've been asked to do, we've done. And we've done it with men and women serving together. I'm confounded as to what the problem is."

Although the pressure to segregate male and female trainees grew out of the rash of sexual abuse cases at the Army's Aberdeen training base, Sergeant Major of the Army Robert E. Hall said, "Gender-integrated training is not affecting the training bases."

Although the proposed change would not affect his

service, Sergeant Major of the Marine Corps Lewis G. Lee supported his colleagues.

Meanwhile, the enlisted leaders had somewhat different views on the impact that worldwide commitments are having on their personnel.

Herdt and Lee said the Navy and Marines are not experiencing major problems with the increased "operational tempo" caused by crises in the Persian Gulf, Bosnia and parts of Africa. That is because their personnel expect to go overseas regularly and their service leaders are working to keep a pattern of six-month deployments separated by a year at home, they said.

But Hall and Benken said soldiers and Air Force personnel are having some trouble adjusting to an "expeditionary" style of operations, which requires more temporary foreign deployments from domestic bases.

Russian Warns Of Missile Danger

Submarine-Based Nuclear Weapons Not Properly Checked, Specialist Says

By David Hoffman
Washington Post
Foreign Service

MOSCOW, May 13—A Russian specialist on strategic missiles has warned in graphic terms that Russia's older submarine-based nuclear rockets are wearing out and has publicly criticized the military leadership for prolonging their use, which he said risks a catastrophe.

The specialist, Yuri Balashov, said that military leaders ordered sea-based missiles kept on duty without thorough individual checks of the missiles. In surprising detail, Balashov described how the liquid-fueled intercontinental ballistic missiles, which carry nuclear warheads, have suffered aging, corrosion and degradation, making them potentially unreliable.

He said corrosion and "natural weakening" of the rockets' metal parts heightened the risk of an unintended explosion. Russia is risking "hundreds of Chernobyls" by keeping the rockets in service.

Balashov did not name the missile he was referring to, but it was clear he was describing the SS-N-18, a two-stage, liquid-fueled missile which carries three nuclear warheads. Russia has 208 of the missiles deployed on Delta III class submarines in the Northern Fleet, according to its arms treaty declarations. The first SS-N-18 missiles were deployed 20 years ago and are believed to be nearing the end of their service life.

Balashov, 64, who lives in

Krasnoyarsk, in Siberia, worked until recently on preparing documents certifying the readiness of such missiles and said he decided to speak out because military leaders were pushing the weapons too far, and his protests were being ignored. In an interview with the newspaper Izvestia, and in comments later to The Washington Post, Balashov said he was worried about the unpredictability of the older missiles.

Western analysts and policymakers have long debated the dangers of Russia's aging strategic missile forces. Russian officials have denied there are safety problems but acknowledged that the size of the strategic forces is dwindling because older missiles are not being modernized or replaced.

Balashov's comments followed a still-unexplained incident aboard a Russian nuclear missile submarine May 5 in the Barents Sea. According to a Western source, the stricken submarine, which is propelled by an atomic reactor, sent an emergency call for help and had to be escorted to its base on the Kola Peninsula.

At the time, panic swept the northern cities of Murmansk and Severomorsk, Russian news agencies reported. Schools were closed and residents bought iodine to counter the effects of a possible radiation leak. Two days later, officials said there had been no accident and there was no reason for panic. Vice Admiral Mikhail Barskov said "regular planned exercises" were taking place and sailors "were ordered to train for rescuing a troubled submarine with the help of land

civil services," the Interfax news service reported.

However, the Western source said the "exercises" were a cover story. The submarine suffered a leak or explosion in a missile fuel tank, the source said. The source said there was no radiation leak, but the missile was damaged. The fuel in the nuclear-tipped missiles is highly toxic.

Balashov said he did not know about the accident when he made his comments. Alexei Tarasov, the Izvestia correspondent who interviewed Balashov, said the specialist decided to speak out because the reports he sent to his superiors were being ignored. Tarasov also reported that Krasnoyarsk, the Krasnoyarsk factory where the missiles were made, has fallen on hard times, with little work and mounting wage arrears. But he said Balashov was speaking out of conscience, not to pressure the government for money.

It is highly unusual for a specialist to speak out publicly and critically on such a sensitive issue as the readiness of Russia's strategic forces, which is usually shrouded in secrecy. Tarasov said the Federal Security Service, the domestic agency that succeeded the KGB and monitors military establishments, had prohibited Izvestia from publishing the precise designation of the missile. However, the description fits the SS-N-18, which is a NATO designation for the 47.8-foot, 77,836-pound submarine-launched rocket which the Russians call the RSM-50.

Balashov said he was moved to speak out by a statement made recently by the head of the land-based strategic missile forces, Gen. Vladimir Yakovlev, who said that 62 percent of Russia's strategic rockets and 71 percent of the guidance systems were beyond their

guaranteed service life. But Yakovlev insisted that the level of combat readiness had not decreased.

Balashov questioned this statement, saying it was not possible to maintain the same readiness if the missiles were being pushed beyond their service life. A spokesman for the rocket forces, Vyacheslav Davidenko, said, "Our point of view is different."

Balashov said the readiness depended on calculations about the condition of individual parts of the rocket and each missile needed to be examined. He said the navy short-circuited this process and simply decided to keep all the rockets on duty without checking. "There was no individual analysis of the rockets," he said. "The extension [in service life] was carried out by directive."

Moreover, he said, the rockets use volatile fuel that can explode if the canister is broken and fuel comes into contact with water. He said enamel paint applied to the rockets in the 1970s and 1980s had blistered and peeled. He said the thin surface walls of the missiles -- two millimeters thick -- were scraped repeatedly to remove the paint. "Can the guarantee period of this rocket be extended?" he asked.

He said the metal parts of the missiles have also suffered from corrosion and "natural weakening." He said corrosion tests carried out last year before firing some missiles were "hasty" and "crude violations were permitted."

Balashov said, "Let's say a rocket has exploded in its storage site. Near it are other rockets which will also explode. You can't hide the fact that nuclear warheads are also kept not so far away. . . . We can end up with hundreds of Chernobyls."

Envoy says sanctions could stall START II

MOSCOW — Any U.S. sanctions on Russian companies doing business with Iran could further delay ratification of the START II arms reduction treaty, Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov said Tuesday.

The U.S. Congress is consider-

ing such sanctions for reported sales of conventional arms and Russian-made ballistic weapons to Iran.

Mr. Primakov said on NTV television that Russia has no desire to "encourage the creation of a missile with a range of [1,250 miles] in Iran."

But sanctions on companies "doing business with Iran and

even suspected of missile deals" will only hurt the ratification of START II, he said.

Mr. Primakov said he expected that the lower house of the Russian parliament, the State Duma, would ratify the treaty, which was signed in 1993 and ratified by the U.S. Senate in 1996. The treaty would halve the nuclear arsenals in both countries.

INSIDE THE RING

by Ernest Blazar

Safe for now

In all the talk over "the intelligence failure of the decade," meaning India's surprise detonation of five nuclear devices earlier this week, the question arises: Does the president still have confidence in his CIA chief, George Tenet?

Yes, said Samuel R. Berger, the president's national security adviser, he has "full confidence in Director Tenet. . . . We talked about it specifically today."

Single standard

Many enlisted soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines know that rank has its privileges. Higher rank brings more pay, for example. But they also believe that misdeeds are punished less frequently and less severely the higher the offender's rank. It's called "different spanks for different ranks."

The perception seems only to have grown recently. What has caused that is the juxtaposition of two recent high-profile Army cases. One was the long, painful court-martial of former Sgt. Major of the Army Gene McKinney, accused of sexually harassing subordinates. Master Sgt. McKinney was ultimately acquitted of all charges, except for one related to obstruction of justice.

The other is the pending case of retired Army Maj. Gen. David Hale, the service's former deputy inspector general. While under investigation for sex crimes at least as serious as those faced by Sgt. McKinney, Gen. Hale was allowed to retire. The Army says

that isn't important because the general could swiftly be recalled to active duty to face punishment.

While these cases have fueled the perception of a double standard, the highest-ranking Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps enlisted men reject this notion.

"I don't perceive a difference," said Master Chief Petty Officer of the Navy Jim Herdt, "and I don't think the fleet does either."

In agreement was his Army counterpart, Sgt. Major of the Army Robert E. Hall, the man who replaced Sgt. Maj. McKinney. "I don't believe there is such a thing," he said yesterday.

"I don't believe there is either," chimed in Sgt. Major of the Marine Corps Lewis G. Lee.

Why then do so many enlisted men and women think a double standard exists?

"They are not in a position to see all the facts," said Army Sgt. Maj. Hall.

What kind?

"They don't understand what a 'letter of reprimand' necessarily means," explained Master Chief Herdt, offering the example of disciplinary notes placed in an officer's file that are often career-killers. He says high rank is no sanctuary from punishment. "The punishment meted out is often much more severe and has more serious consequences for the general" than for lower-ranking folks.

The perception of a double standard may come from how investigations are handled, suggested Sgt. Major Lee. "Whether we like it or not, an investigation on a general officer is going to be more complicated," he said.

Politically?

"No," said the top enlisted Marine. "But institutionally it is going to be more difficult, more drawn out and more cumbersome

than an investigation on a master sergeant or a first sergeant in the Marine Corps. . . . And that is not bad."

When the "fog and fallout" of high-profile cases dissipates and a guilty verdict is entered, said Sgt. Major Lee, "you will find invariably that the general has paid a higher price than the enlisted person."

If that is the truth, then why do so many enlisted folks persist in believing a double standard exists throughout the four services.

"What kills us is perceptions," said Chief Master Sergeant of the Air Force Eric W. Benken. "E-mail is a perpetrator of rumor and propaganda like you would not believe."

Uh, hooray

The Pentagon likes nothing more than good news. So when the fifth flight test of an expensive U.S. missile designed to kill incoming enemy missiles failed on Tuesday, no time was lost before a cheery press release flew off the copy machine anyway.

A simulated Scud missile — called a Hera — flew well during the attempted missile intercept, the news release crowed, noting almost as an afterthought, "which by the way, was unsuccessful."

Cohen's candor

"We have been talking about the question of readiness. And we are starting to see signs of some erosion, certainly on the edges of things," Defense Secretary William S. Cohen, testifying before the Senate Appropriations Committee yesterday.

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Why We Must Know

By Thomas Lynch

While no action or forbearance would satisfy everyone involved, the decision by Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen to act on the Pentagon's recommendation to disinter and examine the remains of a soldier killed in Vietnam and buried in the Tomb of the Unknowns at Arlington, while difficult, is correct. New in-

formation about the possible identity of the bones buried there -- one of the more than 2,000 still missing or unidentified dead from the war in Vietnam -- brings us to the brink of this sad duty.

Of course, reopened graves, like reopened wounds, seek a certain healing and run uncertain risks. Like the war that sent home this dead body and nearly 60,000 more, the right

path is not well marked, the outcomes impossible to predict.

The people of those who die too soon, too savagely, too far from home, hunger for closure and what can be known. It is why we comb plane wrecks and bomb sites, natural disasters and old battle grounds -- not because it matters to the dead but because the dead matter. Their lives and deaths become part of the history of families, of hometowns and of nations. And history, to be trusted, must hunger after facts, however sad and vexing they might be. This is an old treaty

between the living and the dead: to name and number, record and keep track.

The Pentagon now reckons the six bones buried at Arlington most probably belong to one of two American pilots who were killed in action on the same day in 1972. New technologies promise new certainties. The unknown soldier might become, well, known.

In 1972 I was at Wayne State University in the Department of Mortuary Science. My number in the deadly lottery was 254. It never came up. I was never called. I never went

to war and never sent a son or daughter off and am not sure I could. I've been a funeral director in a small town ever since. So, for the past 25 years, I've stood with bereaved parents, the widowed and heart-sore, in front of open caskets and over open graves. And I've waited with the families of abducted children, tornado victims, foreign missionaries, drowned toddlers, Peace Corps volunteers, Vietnam and Gulf War casualties -- waited for their precious dead to be found and named and sent back home to them to be buried or burned, mourned and remembered. I've

listened while well-meaning but ill-informed clergy, nervous in-laws, neighbors and old friends sought to comfort the living by telling them the body in the box was "just a shell." The operative word in this is "just." The effort to minimize the hurt by minimizing the loss, pretending that a dead body has no meaning because it has quit working, quit breathing, quit being, rings tinny in the ear of anyone who has known grief.

The bodies of the dead are not "just" anything. If not entirely icon or essence, they also are neither remnant nor debris.

They are changelings, incubates -- relics of a new reality that bear the names and dates, the image and likeness of people who are loved and grieved, longed for, searched after. As Secretary Cohen and the Pentagon are finding out, the same is so for the body in the tomb at Arlington.

Here are some of the sad truths I've been taught by the families of the dead: Seeing is believing, knowing is better than not knowing, to name the hurt returns a kind of comfort, the grief ignored will never go away. For those whose sons

and daughters, husbands, wives, mothers, fathers, friends went off to war and never did return, the worst that can happen already has happened. The light and air of what is known, however difficult, will bring some searches to a close and open new ones. Either way, the facts of death, like the facts of life, are required learning. The search for answers is a worthy one. The dead don't need to know. Only the living do.

Thomas Lynch, a funeral director in Milford, Mich., is the author of "The Undertaking -- Life Studies From the Dismal Trade."

Washington Post May 14, 1998 Pg. 23

Exaggerated Expenses

By Lawrence J. Korb

Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen is correct when he says that the Department of Defense needs the support of Congress to have a cost-effective national defense ["Defense: Getting Down to Basics," op-ed, April 22]. But the secretary is blaming Congress for problems that are not of its making. More important, Cohen is ignoring the administration's own complicity in creating funding difficulties for defense and vastly exaggerating the potential problems that could occur if Congress fails to heed his advice.

According to Cohen, Congress must fund the unanticipated costs of our military operations in the Persian Gulf and Bosnia; fully fund the president's request for the operations and maintenance (O&M) accounts; and authorize two new rounds of base closures. If Congress does not take these actions, the damage will be "broad and deep," there will be "major reductions in programs," and readiness would "erode quickly."

The total cost to the Pentagon if Congress does not provide extra money for these unanticipated military operations is \$1.8 billion, less than one percent of DOD's \$271 billion FY 1999 budget. This is hardly enough money to bring about "broad and deep damage." Moreover, these operations are

hardly unanticipated. The United States has maintained 20,000 military personnel in the Persian Gulf since 1991 and has had to beef up that force on several occasions since then. Similarly, it was the administration, not Congress, that first said the Bosnian deployment would end in December 1996 and then changed the date to June 1998.

By the Pentagon's own reckoning, O&M spending per active-duty person is already higher in real terms than at any time during the 1980s, and is well above the average for the last 20 years. The additional funds that Cohen is asking Congress for amount to \$1 billion or about one percent of the total O&M budget, hardly enough to justify Cohen's concern that readiness would erode quickly.

Finally, Cohen wants Congress to authorize two new rounds of base closures to free an additional \$3 billion a year for buying badly needed new weapons. But what Cohen does not tell us is that these savings would not begin to occur until a decade from now. Moreover, the reason Congress refuses to authorize new rounds of base closures is that the Clinton administration corrupted the process in 1995 by choosing to turn over Air Force bases in Texas and California to private contractors rather than closing them, as the congressionally authorized base closure commission had mandated. The

General Accounting Office has estimated that this decision by President Clinton will cost the Pentagon \$1 billion. Even Democratic supporters such as Sen. Max Cleland (D-Ga.) accused the president of manipulating the commission.

Ironically, Cohen would not need the support of Congress to close bases if he had acted more in the national interest when he was a legislator. As a congressman from Maine in 1976, in order to protect Loring Air Force Base in northern Maine, Cohen wrote and helped pass legislation that made it impossible for the Pentagon to close any major bases on its own.

Cohen concludes his column by complaining that the U.S. military cannot compete if Congress does not provide the extra funds. But even without these additional funds, the U.S. military is more than competitive. It already outspends all of its potential rivals combined and, together with its NATO allies, Japan, South Korea and Israel, accounts for 80 percent of the world's military expenditures. If the Pentagon needs additional funds for training and quality of life, it has plenty of other places in its budget to look. It could look at the \$25 billion it is still spending on strategic nuclear forces, including building new nuclear bombs, or the \$500 billion it plans to spend on three new tactical aircraft when its current planes are already the best in the world. Or it might start building conventionally powered aircraft carriers and diesel-powered submarines, which are more cost-effective than their

nuclear counterparts. Or it might ask why nearly a decade after the end of the Cold War it still has 100,000 people in Europe. If Congress has additional funds it might want to look at non-defense discretionary spending. It is projected to grow only 1.8 percent over the next five years compared with 7.8 percent for the Pentagon.

The writer is a senior fellow in foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution.

Editor's Note: The op-ed referred to appeared in the *Current News Early Bird*, April 22, 1998, Pg. 10.

San Diego Union-Tribune
May 13, 1998 Pg. 24

Santa Clara County

Conviction In Slaying At Fort Ord

San Jose -- The Department of Defense worker who gunned down two of his colleagues in an early-morning ambush was convicted of murder and attempted murder yesterday by a federal jury.

The U.S. District Court jury deliberated for one hour before convicting John Robert Filler III, 47, of killing handyman Gerald Lloyd and wounding former Secret Service employee James Gaughran in the attack last year. Federal law mandates a sentence of life imprisonment without possibility of parole for a first-degree murder conviction.

The June 9 shooting took

place outside the Department of Defense Logistical Center on the Fort Ord Army Base in

Monterey County. Investigators found that Filler rode his bicycle to the Logistical Center the morning of the attack and hid

in the bushes nearby with a semiautomatic .22-caliber rifle he had purchased earlier at a Sacramento Kmart store.

Sentencing has been set for August 12.

Washington Times

May 14, 1998

Pg. 1

A strike on the Capitol

'The Boys From Syracuse' charge military cover-up

By Jennifer Harper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A group of former Air National Guard fighter pilots surrendered their medals on the steps of the Capitol yesterday to protest a bungled military investigation that used tactics they compared to "the darkest days of communism."

The men say their careers and their unit were ruined by officials bent on protecting Maj. Jacquelyn Parker, a pilot who they say has a history of raunchy behavior and airborne incompetence.

"This is the greatest sacrifice of my military life," said David Hamlin, a decorated veteran and former commander of the New York ANG's elite 174th Fighter Wing in Syracuse — whose fliers called themselves "The Boys From Syracuse" for a half-century before the Pentagon made them stop lest they offend feminist sensibilities.

He was fired and his unit grounded in 1995 after Maj. Parker failed to qualify for combat in an F-16 and then said she had been the victim of sexual discrimination, though the unit had previously been commended for recruiting female and minority fighter pilots.

Two investigations — one military, one civilian — followed, which dredged up sordid details of petty vengeance, sexual impropriety and dangerous liaisons. In the aftermath, 12 pilots in the celebrated flying unit were demoted or transferred, and a half-dozen never flew again — a loss, the group estimates, of \$20 million in training costs. One pilot with many flying hours was grounded, then put in charge of a copy machine.

All say the investigation was both sham and cover-up, tainted by withheld evidence, perjury and abuse of power.

"We stand by what we did," Air National Guard spokesman Dan Donohue said yesterday. "There was clear evidence that there was a climate for discrimination in that unit. There was no cover-up. It was all made public."

Maj. Parker, her accusers say, had lofty guardians determined to make her into America's first female combat pilot, racing against candidates from the Marines and the Navy. Like disgraced Air Force bomber pilot Kelly Flinn, Maj. Parker was a high-profile aviatrix. She had received an award from Hillary Rodham Clinton, appeared on "The Oprah Winfrey Show" and done a photo layout in glamour gown and bomber jacket.

"She was unfailable, and we were told that she was unfailable," said X. Ecker, a former senior officer who rode with Maj. Parker as she flunked her final check ride for combat readiness in the F-16.

Maj. Parker had another side, one that shocked the gnarliest of fighter jocks. The investigations found that during her year at the 174th, she flaunted an affair with the director of operations, Col. Robert Rose, who was married, and that she continually grabbed a male officer's private parts because it "drove him totally nuts." She was reported to have had other "relationships with superior officers" at previous postings, one investigator report said.

Her calling card, the reports said, announced her as "Mankiller." Once, perhaps in jest, she offered oral sex to a pilot by announcing it into the air hose attached to his G-suit, the military investigatory report said. She occasionally used the men's restroom and walked in on male pilots in the showers.

Documents from the investigation said Maj. Parker "was very headstrong and used her sexuality to try to influence those around her." Her peers told investigators she was just obnoxious; one called her "an accident waiting to happen."

After failing her final check

ride, Maj. Parker called in sick — often with what she described as "female troubles" — during the three additional tests subsequently offered to her. In total, her F-16 training took three times longer than normal, as the unit tried to ease her along.

Then, suddenly, she quit. "I will become so vicious that I will tear this unit apart," she said on leaving, according to investigation records.

Within hours of her resignation, the New York Air National Guard assured the Pentagon that a full-scale investigation of her treatment was under way. When evidence surfaced that Maj. Parker and her paramour had lied under oath, a civilian probe followed under the auspices of Gov. George E. Pataki, who later pronounced the report "flawed."

The unit pilots filed whistleblower complaints with Secretary of the Air Force Sheila Widnall; several were reassigned or deemed "unstable," "unsafe" or "discriminators."

Maj. Parker is now stationed with the California Air National Guard at a desk job. Meanwhile, the 147th Fighter Wing has "fought its way back" and morale is on the rise, according to a New York ANG spokesman. The former pilots of the 147th themselves, some who fought back tears as they gave up their medals yesterday, are mostly civilians now.

Mr. Ecker laments the loss of military morale and insists that honor, integrity and duty to country still come first. Others say female pilots are the real casualty.

It is a lesson, said Elaine Donnelly of the Center for Military Readiness, when principles and leadership "are abandoned so that women will 'succeed' regardless of their behavior and performance."

"Professional women, including female aviators, must speak out against the idea that some women can break the rules with impunity and rely on political connections or favoritism to advance their careers."

New York Times May 14, 1998

Families Prepare For News On Identity Of Remains In Tomb

By David Stout

WASHINGTON -- Whatever emotions run through them as they watch a coffin being removed from the Tomb of the Unknowns in Arlington National Cemetery on Thursday, the relatives of two men lost in the Vietnam War are apt to feel the years just fall away.

It will be 26 years to the day since grim-faced visitors came to Pat Strobridge's apartment in Portland, Ore. They told her that her husband, Capt. Rodney L. Strobridge, had been shot down in his Army helicopter near An Loc three days before, and that she was probably a widow.

She has a new name and a new family and a new life now. Still, as she said the other day, "I've never stopped thinking about him, hoping and praying that we'd find closure."

Pat Blassie of Atlanta feels that way too. Her brother, First Lt. Michael J. Blassie, was shot down in his Air Force attack plane on May 11, 1972, the same day Strobridge was lost, and in the same area. "We are ready to bring Michael home and finally put him to rest," she said last week. Home would be a cemetery plot in St. Louis, where he grew up.

Evidence has turned up in recent weeks that the remains of the Vietnam-era serviceman in the tomb are those of Blassie or Strobridge. So DNA testing on the half-dozen bones that make up the Vietnam unknown's remains may finally give one family the peace it wants.

But how much peace? As Strobridge's former wife, now Pat Baker of Burke, Va., put it, "It's very hard to think of your loved one as six bones."

No, when she thinks of him she remembers meeting the man with long hair.

That was in 1969, when she was Pat Mulligan, an elementary school teacher in Monterey, Calif. She and a friend stopped for coffee. The diner was crowded, so they shared a table with strangers. A man

with the kind of mod hair that was fashionable back then introduced himself as Rod. They talked for a while, and he asked if he could call her.

When Rod picked her up that weekend, he doffed his "hair" with a flourish, revealing the crewcut appropriate for an Army pilot.

"Not everyone meets their husband wearing a wig," Pat Baker said. "We clicked at that first meeting."

Rod Strobridge had worn the wig to avoid being heckled by war protesters, not that he was ashamed of having done a tour in Vietnam.

They married in the summer of 1970, and the next year he was sent to helicopter school (his first tour had been flying fixed-wing aircraft), and not long after Christmas he left for Vietnam, and she went to Oregon to be near her parents. She never saw him again.

That Sunday, May 14, 1972, when the Army said Strobridge was presumed dead, was Mother's Day. It was a week before Althea Strobridge's birthday, and eight days before her son would have turned 31.

For a while, Pat dared to hope. But the months went by, and then the years. "You're not single, you're not married," she said of the sad limbo of those days. "And friends that keep in touch with you at the beginning..."

May 1972 was a cruel month for the Blassie family too. Two of Michael's sisters had celebrated birthdays, Judy on the 6th and Mary on the 7th. Then came the notification that Michael was missing and probably dead.

A career officer, Michael was 24 when he disappeared. His brother, George, was 11. "Michael was a hero, a mentor to us, to me," George Blassie said the other day from his home in St. Louis. By his voice, it is clear that he cannot quite comprehend being much older than his big brother ever got to be.

His siblings all feel that way. Even allowing for their

selective amnesia, Michael seems to have been an ideal brother -- protecting, prodding without bullying, pushing his brother and sisters to do their best.

Michael Blassie was good in school. He excelled in sports and music (he played the bassoon and saxophone in high school), and nobody was surprised when he went to the Air Force Academy.

"You can believe that we are proud of Michael, especially of the fact that he loved his country enough to fight and give his life for it," Pat Blassie said last week.

"He's in our hearts," his mother, Jean Blassie said. "He should be home with us."

Clearly, the Blassie family (Michael's father, George, was a meat-cutter who died in 1991) would be devastated if the remains are found to be not those of Michael. His kin have said they are sure that they are, just as sure as they are that Michael would be a colonel or general today if he had lived. They are eager to have the tomb opened.

But the parents of Rodney Strobridge were ambivalent. "How can it change anything?" said George Strobridge, a 78-year-old retired plumber and World War II Navy veteran who lives in Lake Isabella, Calif. "He's gone, and he'll be gone a long time."

The captain's mother, Althea Strobridge of Perry, Iowa, wondered if opening the tomb would dilute the solemn mystery of the site. Even assuming the Vietnam unknown is her son, Mrs. Strobridge said, "Leave him in Arlington." Then she seemed to waver: "I'll just go along with it, come what may."

The two families, different yet with so much in common, will meet at the tomb on Thursday.

"Here rests in honored glory an American soldier known but to God," reads the inscription on the marble monument to the original Unknown Soldier. Unknown dead from World War II and the Korean War were interred there 40 years ago. The Vietnam unknown was interred on Memorial Day 1984.

"As a child, did he play on some street in a great American city?" an emotional President

Ronald Reagan asked. "Did he work beside his father on a farm in America's heartland? Did he marry? Did he have children?"

Yet the Vietnam unknown was different. The dead from the earlier wars were picked from among thousands of men who were unidentifiable by the science of their times. Thanks to modern science (and the fact that relatively fewer Americans were blown apart by heavy artillery fire than in past wars) there was never a huge group of Vietnam unknowns. Most of the 2,000 or so Americans still missing were pilots, and it is not unusual for scientists to identify flyers' remains found years later, largely because of advances in DNA testing.

The military authorities try not to give families false hope that their dead have been recovered. The Blassie family was not notified until recently that human remains found near An Loc the autumn after Michael's disappearance might be his. An identification card with his name and personal effects made it seem likely they were, and the military at first classified them as "believed to be" Michael Blassie.

But years later, the designation was changed to "unknown." The military insists this was done because of uncertainty and not as part of a coverup, or to make remains available for the 1984 ceremony.

After the Blassie family began pressing for the tomb to be opened, the Pentagon conducted an extensive review. Investigators noted that forensic tests done years ago had turned up the possibility, based partly on blood type and bone size, that the remains could be those of Rodney Strobridge -- or, less likely, those of a half-dozen other pilots and crewmen lost around An Loc.

Pat Baker just found out a couple of weeks ago that the remains of her first husband might have been found. She heard it from relatives, who had heard it on the news. Because she had remarried 18 years ago she was no longer "primary next of kin," so the Pentagon had not notified her. If the remains in the tomb are her first husband's, they will be

buried elsewhere in Arlington.

Her husband, Thomas, is a retired Army officer who lost several friends in Vietnam. He understands that the past lives in a small corner of her heart, and that the past can come rushing back.

"It doesn't take much," she said. The sound of helicopters will do it or, more painful, old film of anti-war protesters. "Hopefully, we're beyond that now."

European Stars & Stripes

May 14, 1998

Pg. 4

Mines Injure 2 Polish Troops

2 Americans hurt in wreck

From staff and wire reports

EAGLE BASE, Bosnia and Herzegovina — Two Polish

soldiers serving in Operation Joint Guard were injured Wednesday after detonating two mines while on foot patrol in the U.S.-led Multinational Division North peacekeeping sector. Officials did not release the names of the soldiers nor say how the mines detonated.

The first soldier injured his right foot in the accident. The second soldier detonated another mine while investigating and was injured in both legs.

Both soldiers were evacuated to the 67th Combat Support Hospital on Guardian Base where they were listed in stable condition.

In a separate incident, two U.S. soldiers were slightly injured in a one-vehicle accident about 16 miles east of Tuzla when their vehicle rolled off the side of the road and flipped once, landing in a gully. The incidents are under investigation.

Washington Post

May 14, 1998

Pg. 25

U.S. Envoy Arranges Kosovo Peace Talks

Yugoslav President, Albanian Leader to Meet for First Time in Belgrade

By Guy Dinmore Special
to The Washington Post

BELGRADE, May 13—U.S. envoy Richard C. Holbrooke, after four days of shuttle diplomacy, announced today that Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and the leader of the main ethnic Albanian party, Ibrahim Rugova, had agreed to start talks aimed at ending the widening conflict in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo.

The two men, who have never met during nearly a decade of hostilities, will open talks Friday here in the Yugoslav capital. Negotiating teams will then start weekly sessions in the Pristina, the capital of Kosovo, where Serbian security forces have come under attack by separatist rebels this week.

Holbrooke, who succeeded in initiating the talks after failed attempts by European diplomats, called the agreement to meet an "important procedural breakthrough." But he warned that it was a first, small step that in itself would not halt the violence that has claimed 150 lives this year.

"The vast differences that divide the two sides remain as wide as ever," Holbrooke said at a news conference after a night of talks with Milosevic and consultations with the White House. Neither side had made any substantive change in its position, he added.

"The danger that fighting

will increase, or escalate or metastasize across international borders remains high unless President Milosevic and Dr. Rugova and their associates find some common ground," Holbrooke warned.

President Clinton called the agreement "a sober first step toward resolving a very dangerous conflict that clearly has the potential to spill over into neighboring countries and destabilize the region."

"There is a great deal more to be done, however, before all the peoples of Kosovo enjoy the peace, security and human rights they deserve," Clinton said in a statement issued in Berlin, where the president was on the first day of a European trip.

Kosovo, an impoverished, landlocked entity of 2 million people -- 90 percent of them ethnic Albanians -- is a province of Serbia, the largest republic of what remains of Yugoslavia. Albanian demands for independence have long been opposed by Serbia, which regards Kosovo as the cradle of Serbian civilization.

Rugova, president of the self-declared Republic of Kosovo, which is recognized by no government, told Holbrooke he would present his demands for outright independence at Friday's talks. For his part Milosevic is offering strictly limited autonomy. In a concession to Milosevic, no foreign mediator will be present at the meeting, although

Holbrooke made it clear that U.S. involvement in the peace process would continue.

U.S. officials said privately that Milosevic had agreed to renew contacts with Robert Gelbard, the senior U.S. envoy to the Balkans. Milosevic's refusal to meet Gelbard last month led Clinton to call once more on the services of Holbrooke, a former assistant secretary of state who has been a Wall Street banker since negotiating an end to the Bosnian civil war in 1995 in Dayton, Ohio.

Gelbard said he would call an early meeting of the six-nation "contact group" on the former Yugoslavia comprising the United States, its main European allies and Russia. U.S. officials indicated that if serious dialogue began, the Western powers would lift a potentially crippling ban on foreign investments imposed on Serbia last week to protest its crackdown in Kosovo.

Other sanctions leveled over the past two months, including a freeze on government credits and a U.N. arms embargo, would require further concessions from Milosevic, such as withdrawal of the special police forces that allegedly massacred civilians in Kosovo in February and March during raids on suspected strongholds of the Kosovo Liberation Army, the separatist Albanian guerrilla group.

In a statement, Milosevic said that in his talks with Hol-

brooke he had "emphasized the need to replace a policy of pressures with a positive and constructive approach." Diplomats said Milosevic, his country isolated and impoverished after the sanctions that accompanied the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, was using the Kosovo crisis to press Washington to allow Belgrade access to foreign credits.

Holbrooke expressed concern over the situation in neighboring Albania which, he said, "any sane person would find appalling." The control of the Socialist Party government of Prime Minister Fatos Nano was limited to urban areas while the north was an "open sieve" for smugglers of weapons into Kosovo, Holbrooke added.

The United States and Europe would help reestablish Albania's police force and justice system, Gelbard said, but he made no mention of Nano's request for NATO's help in securing the border.

Within Kosovo, Serbian security forces are suffering casualties each day from the Kosovo Liberation Army. Rugova is believed to have no control over the rebel group, which is said to have about 500 fighters. Rugova's Democratic League of Kosovo, which officially pursues a policy of non-violent resistance to rule by Belgrade, has close links with the guerrillas at the village level.

Nuclear Arms Race in the Making?

India's underground nuclear tests Monday and Wednesday have raised fears of a renewed nuclear arms race in South Asia. Many nations, including China—a declared nuclear

power—and Japan condemned the tests that took place near the border with Pakistan, India's archrival. Pakistan indicated it may now also conduct nuclear tests.

DECLARED NUCLEAR POWERS

■ United States, Russia, Britain, France, China

All have signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

UNDECLARED NUCLEAR-WEAPONS STATES

■ **India** has tested nuclear devices three times, once in 1974 and twice this week. U.S. officials say they are uncertain if India has assembled nuclear weapons, but it is capable of doing so in a very short time. It has not signed either of the nuclear treaties.

■ **Pakistan** secretly launched a nuclear program in 1972 but has not detonated a nuclear device. It is believed to have the capability of assembling a nuclear weapon quickly. Pakistan has not signed the nuclear-arms control treaties.

■ **Israel** is believed to have about 100 nuclear weapons, although it is not known to have tested any. It has not signed the NPT.

HIGH-RISK STATES

■ **Iran**, which signed the NPT, is secretly pursuing a nuclear weapons program, U.S. officials believe.

■ **Iraq** has had a covert nuclear weapons program in violation of the NPT, which it signed. But many of the installations were destroyed in the Persian Gulf War, and U.N. inspectors have determined the program has essentially ended.

■ **Libya** has been trying to acquire nuclear arms or parts, but has not been very successful.

■ **North Korea's** nuclear program has been frozen since 1994, as part of an understanding with the United States. But it is believed to be continuing some aspects of the program. North Korea has signed the NPT.

PAKISTAN

Some of Pakistan's nuclear facilities:

Rawalpindi: Pakistani Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology, which includes laboratory and pilot-scale plant for plutonium extraction.

Wah: Possible nuclear weapons assembly site.

Kahuta: Khan Research Laboratory with a large-scale uranium enrichment plant.

Chasma: Plutonium extraction plant; not complete.

Khusab: Plutonium production reactor.

INDIA

Some of India's principal nuclear facilities:

Tarapur: Large plutonium extraction plant

Ratthalli: Pilot-scale uranium enrichment plant

Kalpakkam: Indira Gandhi Atomic Research Center, which includes fast breeder test reactors and plutonium extraction plants.

Trombay: Bhabha Atomic Research Center; possible location of nuclear weapons program, including research and plutonium production and plutonium extraction.

CHINA

Some of China's main nuclear facilities:

Subei: Jiuquan Atomic Energy Complex, including plutonium production and weapons assembly.

Haiyan: Northwest Nuclear Weapons Research and Design Academy.

Lanzhou: Main facility for producing weapons-grade uranium.

Xi'an: Possible site for enriching uranium to weapons grade.

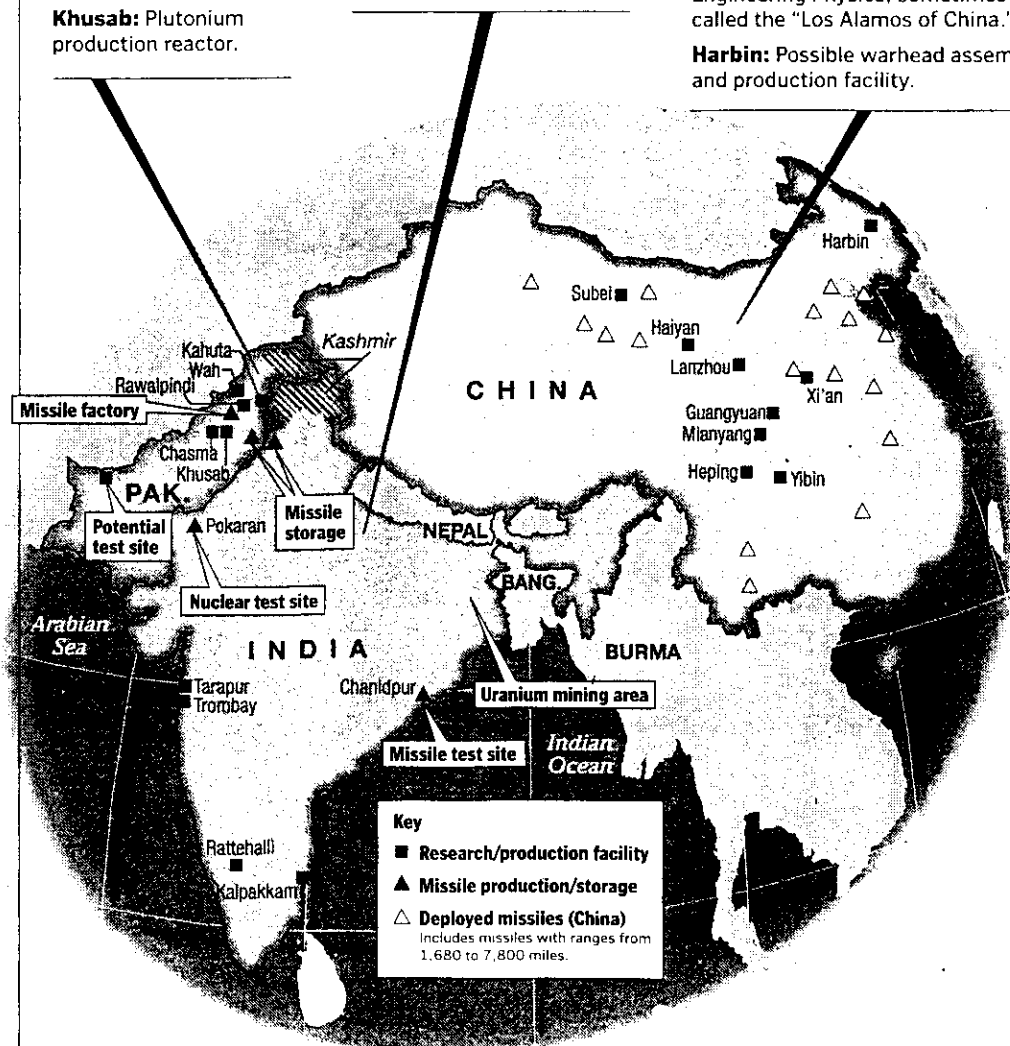
Guangyuan: Believed to be hub of nuclear weapons production.

Heping: Uranium enrichment plant

Yibin: Nuclear fuel component plant

Mianyang: Chinese Academy of Engineering Physics, sometimes called the "Los Alamos of China."

Harbin: Possible warhead assembly and production facility.



SOURCE: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

USA Today
May 14, 1998
Pg. 1B

Sanctions may hurt U.S. firms

By Del Jones
USA TODAY

Most U.S. companies say they support sanctions against India even though it may cost them their competitive edge in a market of 900 million people. Countries worldwide are

condemning India's testing of nuclear bombs, but the United States is the only country that, by law, must impose hardball economic sanctions, primarily affecting lending for plants, jets and other major purchases.

U.S. multinational compa-

nies say it's too soon to know how the law, which has never been imposed, will be interpreted. Some declined to comment; others found the issue radioactive from a public relations standpoint and left trade associations to complain.

Indian companies may turn to, say, French partners in the future because the French government is less likely to impose sanctions, says Thomas Farmer of the Banking Association for Foreign Trade.

Enron has completed about one-third of a massive \$2.5 billion, 2,450-megawatt power plant near Bombay. Spokeswoman Kelly Kimberly says it is too early to determine the impact of sanctions, but "it certainly is of interest to us."

The law is tough on defense exports, but U.S. companies have little exposure. Lockheed Martin, with annual defense sales of \$13.7 billion, has \$41 million in contracts with India.

U.S. exports to India totaled \$3.6 billion last year, compared with more than \$150 billion to Canada. But the USA has led the world in direct foreign investment in India for six years, and Commerce Secretary William Daley says \$10 billion in projects are at risk.

India has a middle class of 90 million, most of whom speak English and have an affection for U.S. goods, says Indian immigrant Sundaresan Ram, a marketing professor at the Thunderbird School of International Management.

Rhein-Main to shut down, paper says

European
Stars &
Stripes

May 14,
1998

Pg. 3

RAMSTEIN AB, Germany (S&S) — The U.S. Air Force intends to pull out of Rhein-Main Air Base by 2004 at the latest, a German newspaper reported Wednesday.

The Trierischer Volksfreund, citing U.S. Air Forces in Europe internal documents, said the United States expects to receive about 300 million marks (about \$172.4 million) for the full return of Rhein-Main Air Base. Military aircraft would fly either into Spangdahlem Air Base to the west or to Ramstein Air Base to the southwest, the newspaper said.

In response to the report, the U.S. Air Forces in Europe said Wednesday: "The United States continually evaluates its basing options to determine if realignment is warranted. It would be inappropriate for us to speculate on future basing options at this time."

Capt. Troy Kitch, a USAFE spokesman, said the command intends to comment further on the matter as soon as possible.

The Trier newspaper said the United States will leave Rhein-Main for two reasons: the limited growth poten-

tial for the U.S. military in Europe and the limitations placed on military flights because of increasing air traffic at Frankfurt International Airport, Germany's busiest.

Rhein-Main is home to about 3,500 people, of which 800 are active-duty personnel, said Air Force Staff Sgt. Dave Jablonski. The base is home to the 469th Air Base Group, which provides theater airlift contingency support. For example, during the recent buildup in southwest Asia to counter Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein, most of the troops deploying to the region funneled through Rhein-Main.

In its heyday, Rhein-Main was known as the Gateway to Europe for U.S. forces. The Rhein-Main community once numbered about 10,000.

The United States received 100 million marks (about \$57.5 million at today's rate) from Germany in 1994 for returning 326 acres, or about 40 percent of the base. Much of the money has been used in the past few years for renovations at Ramstein, which assumed Rhein-Main's airlift mission.

A Rough Transition For Southcom Soldiers

To ease relocation shock, Pentagon should raise housing allowances.

Miami Herald
May 12, 1998

Moving a family is never easy. For military families moving to Miami from Panama -- where living was gracious and the base a full-service facility -- is an expensive shock. Dollars just don't buy as much in South Florida as in Panama. And the stress of "sticker shock" is showing among the families of enlisted men and women who have relocated with the U.S. Southern Command.

What can be done? For starters the local congressional delegation ought to be prodding the Pentagon to provide realistic housing allowances and cost-of-living salary differentials.

Depending upon location, family-size rentals in South Florida range from \$500 to \$1,500 a month, with security deposits and first and last months' rents paid in advance. That's hard to manage on a \$700 housing allowance. Moreover transportation is needed, which means costly auto insurance.

Cost-of-living adjustments are made for military personnel in

eight states: California, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. Why South Florida "doesn't make the cut" isn't clear. The state itself recognizes disparate regional costs and provides cost-of-living differentials for South Florida employees.

Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles should also seek a waiver of turnpike fees for military personnel traveling between Southcom's West Dade headquarters and Homestead, where affordable housing and a base exchange are available.

Local community leaders must also continue looking for ways to ease the transition -- with affordable housing and child-care referral services, for example. Southcom and its personnel are a valued part of our community, clearly worth conscientious assistance through a rough transition.

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